THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES:
ARCHIVAL APPROACHES TO CIVIL RIGHTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE AMERICAN SOUTH

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When police and counter-protesters broke up the first march of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) in August 1968, activists sang the African American spiritual, "We Shall Overcome" before disbanding. The spiritual, so closely associated with the earlier civil rights struggle in the United States, was indicative of the historical and material links shared by the movements in Northern Ireland and the American South. While these bonds have been well documented within history and media studies, the relationship between these regions' archived materials and contemporary struggles remains largely unexplored. While some artifacts from the movements—along with the oral histories and other materials that came later—remained firmly ensconced within the archive, others have been digitally reformatted or otherwise repurposed for a range of educational, judicial, and social projects.

By charting the archival afterlives of civil rights movements, my dissertation explores how approaches to archiving civil rights materials in Northern Ireland and the American South have intersected and diverged. In so doing, it reveals how civil rights archives intervene in contemporary social justice issues. My research is structured as a qualitative comparative case study, involving semi-structured interviews, field observations, and the collection of textual data at four research sites in the American South and Northern Ireland. The study examines how civil rights record keepers in these

two regions interpret and act on a variety of imperatives for both archiving civil rights materials and potentially repurposing them for contemporary social justice.

While missions, mandates, and organizational structures vary among research sites, I argue that every archive studied facilitates social justice in some fashion. In fact, my study finds that civil rights archives in Northern Ireland and the American South draw on a range of overlapping approaches to intervene in contemporary social justice issues. The varying types of social justice responses revealed in the study indicates a continuum of archival social interventions, with each civil rights archive working at points between the poles of activism and neutrality. The sites are thematically interconnected by education, digital spaces, and reconciliation, which show how archives turn their activist or neutral philosophies into real-world actions.

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PREFACE

Thank you to my committee members who were a source of help and encouragement throughout the dissertation process. To my chair, Dr. Richard J. Cox, thank you for taking me on as your final graduate student and for being an extraordinary friend and mentor over these last five years. I am indebted to you for teaching me how to be an archival scholar and educator. I also appreciate the regular Bucs baseball updates since I moved to Ireland, which have kept me connected to the Steel City and been a regular bright spot in my email box. Thank you also to Dr. Andrew Flinn who first introduced me to oral history and all of its fascinating archival and ethical complexities. Your warmth, enthusiasm, and unflagging support have been a great help and comfort over these last few years. I would also like to thank Dr. Alison Langmead for all of your help shaping this project by reading countless drafts and giving me feedback over long Skype sessions. Your guidance has been critical to the project's success. And finally, thank you to Dr. Sheila Corral for your friendship and help with the project. Your knowledge of Northern Ireland and research methods helped to clarify my thinking on the Linen Hall Library chapter and to strengthen the overall dissertation.

I would also like to thank the Museum of Free Derry, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and the Linen Hall Library for making this study possible through their help and participation. I would especially like to

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" 'It was a hard struggle.' I tell them, 'Don't take it for granted that everything's all right.' We still have some things that we fought for. Nothing comes easy. You've got to struggle."[1]

--Paul Littlejohn

[1] Paul Littlejohn, BCRI OHP, vol. 18, sec. 3 (June 24,1996), qtd. in Horace Huntley and John W. McKerley, eds., Preface to *Foot Soldiers for Democracy: The Men, Women, and Children of the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

I. RESEARCH PROBLEM

While the interconnected historical roots of the civil rights movements in Northern Ireland and the American South have been well documented, the linkages between their archived materials and contemporary struggles remain largely unexplored. What happened, for instance, after the marches stopped and the placards, newsletters, and pins were no longer needed? While some materials—along with the photographs, scrapbooks, and oral histories that came later—inevitably remained idle and un-accessed, others have been digitally reformatted or otherwise repurposed for a variety of educational, judicial, and social purposes. By charting the archival afterlives of these historic social movements, this dissertation explores how approaches to archiving civil rights materials in Northern Ireland and the American South have intersected and diverged, as well as reveals how civil rights record keepers in Northern Ireland and the American South intervene, if they do, in contemporary social justice issues.[2] To answer these questions, I have undertaken a qualitative comparative case study at selected research sites in Northern Ireland and the American South, involving semi-structured interviews, field observations, and the collection of textual data. I examine how civil rights record keepers within these two particular contexts interpret and act on a variety of institutional imperatives for both archiving civil rights materials and potentially repurposing them for contemporary social justice issues.

My research topic stems from a long-held interest in the intersection of archives and social justice. In fact, my interest in such topics began on a school field trip to visit

[2] By record keepers, I am referring to the diverse group of archivists, activists, and other professionals and non-professionals who curate civil rights materials.

the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute in the late 1990s. Although I grew up in a community outside of Birmingham, the trip provided my first exposure to the state's civil rights history. The powerful exhibits and stories on display at the museum inspired me to sign the Birmingham Pledge to end racism—a profound and formative experience that sparked my interest in how historical events continue to shape the present.

I shaped these interests into an academic research agenda while taking archives courses at Simmons College. Classes with Jeannette Bastian and Andrew Flinn, whose work informs later chapters, provided me with a foundational understanding of the relationship between archives and social justice. At the time, I had recently graduated from Boston College's Irish Studies program and was following the ongoing case of the Belfast Project oral history subpoenas. The controversy would later provide the subject of my first research publication in the doctoral program at the University of Pittsburgh. The case also exposed me to the events, themes, and issues that inform this dissertation. My research into the history of Northern Ireland, coupled with my lived experience as a native Southerner, led to my comparative analysis of the thread that continues to tie the regions together: civil rights.

Accordingly, my dissertation touches on a broad range of scholarly domains outside of information science, including history, communications, and political science. For instance, the urgent civil rights and racial injustices of today's America and ongoing scholarship regarding the diffusion of global protest movements provide just two examples of other scholarly and popular debates this dissertation obliquely addresses. In order to engage a problem with contemporary relevance and broad implications, I draw on a wide-ranging, interdisciplinary body of literature—as reflected in the following literature

review—to contribute a unique and productive archival perspective to these conversations. In this respect, the dissertation furthers previous research exemplifying archival science's contributions to a wide range of other scholarly disciplines.[3]

My dissertation is narrow in focus, comparing two particular cases that encapsulate the nexus of archives, historical civil rights movements, and contemporary social justice. More specifically, I chose to compare the civil rights movements in Northern Ireland (1964-1972) and the United States of America (1954-1968) for multiple reasons:[4] the well-established historical roots and political parallels between the two regions, the direct and documented influence of the American movement in Northern Ireland, the largely divergent ways each movement has subsequently been memorialized, and the variety of archival contexts in which these movements are preserved and accessed.[5] The research sites selected within these two geopolitical contexts therefore offer congruence between exploring contemporary civil rights recordkeeping and the resulting research questions that compare the methods and motivations for archiving and potentially repurposing civil rights materials for social justice.

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[3] For recent instances of archival science studies with cross-disciplinary appeal, see Amelia Acker, "How Cells Became Records: Standardization and Infrastructure in Tissue Culture" *Archival Science* 15, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 1-24 ; David A. Wallace et al., "Stories for Hope-Rwanda: A Psychological-Archival Collaboration to Promote Healing and Cultural Continuity through Intergenerational Dialogue," *Archival Science* 14, no. 3-4 (Fall 2014): 275-306; Michéle Valerie Cloonan, "The Moral Imperative to Preserve," *Library Trends* 55, no. 3 (Winter 2007): 746-755.

[4] I settled on these traditionally accepted date ranges while acknowledging them as imperfect and debatable. As will be discussed in the proceeding literature review, for instance, scholars have compellingly argued that the date range of the American Civil Rights movement extends well beyond the classically accepted dates with which I am working.

[5] As a co-founder of the US-based Black Lives Matter, Patrisse Cullors's attendance at this year's Bloody Sunday anniversary march in Derry provides a recent example of how these civil rights movements remain entwined to some degree. George Jackson, "Bloody Sunday Anniversary March in Derry Marks 43 Years," *The Irish Times*, February 1, 2015, accessed February 11, 2015, http://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/bloody-sunday-anniversary-march-in-derry-marks-43-years-1.2087239.

I. A. Significance of Study

When police and counter-protesters broke up the first march of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) in August 1968, protesters sang the African American spiritual, "We Shall Overcome" before disbanding.[6] The song had crossed the Atlantic from America via television waves, in some respects foreshadowing the global diffusion of contemporary protests movements and revolutions through social media and other digital technologies. Archivists, activists, and others have since reformatted some of these same civil rights artifacts to circulate within what Manuel Castells famously calls the "network society."[7] Furthermore, past linkages between the two regions continue to resurface in other ways directly or tangentially related to cultural heritage, as evidenced by the recent contact between Mississippi's William Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation and like-minded reconciliation programs based in Belfast.[8] My dissertation furthers our understanding of transnational connections by examining how record keepers on both sides of the Atlantic have repurposed civil rights materials for present-day social justice purposes.

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[6] The civil rights march was organized in conjunction with the Derry Housing Action Coalition. Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), "*We Shall Overcome"…The History of the Struggle for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland 1968-1978* (Belfast: Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), 1978), accessed November 22, 2014, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/crights/nicra/nicra78.htm.

[7] The network society, as defined by Castells, exists as a "social structure that characterizes society in the early twenty-first century, a social structure constructed around (but not determined by) digital networks of communication." Manuel Castells, *Communication Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4.

[8] Carol V.R. *George, One Mississippi, Two Mississippi: Methodists, Murder, and the struggle for Racial Justice in Neshoba County* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 209.

Furthermore, the dissertation addresses a fundamental debate within archival studies, namely how the record keeping profession should respond to social justice imperatives. Why and how, in the case of this study, have some civil rights archives and archivists actively intervened in contemporary issues of social justice? I address this question by building on the emerging archival literature on the subject, best exemplified by 2013's "Social Justice Impact of Archives."[9] The article is unique in two respects: focusing specifically on measurable archival impact and proposing an archive-social justice framework for others to adopt and expand. In the view of Wendy Duff and her co-authors, social justice actions are neither binary nor necessarily limited to the micro- (i.e. people, families, and other informal groupings), meso- (i.e. institutional), or macro- (i.e. societal) levels of scale. Furthermore, the article serves as a reminder "to recognize that social justice actions, including archival approaches to social justice, may have an array of impacts and on a range of different groups including positive and negative effects, with some being intended and others unintended."[10] While focusing on approaches as opposed to impact, the qualitative, comparative study that I undertake embraces these multifaceted conceptualizations of archival social justice.

My dissertation research also furthers our understanding of how missions, mandates, and geopolitical contexts determine the archiving of certain materials. I compare, for instance, the collection and dissemination policies and practices of varying archival types both within Northern Ireland and the American South. More specifically, my research focuses on four sites with unique institutional mandates, missions, and archival categorizations: The Museum of Free Derry (community archive), The Linen

[9] Wendy M. Duff et al. "Social Justice Impact of Archives: A Preliminary Investigation," *Archival Science* 13, no. 4 (2013): 317-348.
[10] Duff et al. "Social Justice Impact of Archives," 339.

Hall Library (independent archive), the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (state archive) and the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (elements of both municipal and community archives).[11] Since community and independent archives form over half of my sample, my project advances archival understandings of Andrew Flinn's categorization of an "archive as social movement," wherein "the collection and preservation of such materials [those overlooked or silenced] is not about 'serious leisure' but about their use for political and educational purposes, either as tools in contemporary struggles, or to remember and commemorate past lives whose achievements were disfigured by trauma and discrimination."[12]

While acknowledging the uniqueness of each selected archival institution, my research explores the role of institutional type in determining how record keepers collect, manage, and potentially repurpose civil rights materials. In what ways, for instance, might government archives curate civil rights collections differently from community and independent archives? My research, therefore, expands the limited pre-existing scholarship on how interfacing institutions and archival types—and their accompanying differences in governance, funding, and mission—influence the preservation, access, and at times, repurposing of civil rights materials.

[11] All of these categorizations are my own and are thus imperfect and debatable. Many of these archives could be easily interpreted as falling into another category (e.g. community instead of independent or vice versa). I categorized them based upon my interpretation of each institution's origins, funding, mission, user community, and other indicators. If I expand this study in the future, I intend to include a clear governmental archive, such as the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI).

[12] Flinn, "The impact of independent and community archives on professional archival thinking and practice," in J. Hill (Ed.), *The Future of Archives and Recordkeeping* (London UK: Facet), 151.

Moreover, my research investigates how archivists interpret and act on advocacy and outreach opportunities unique to civil rights materials.[13] Although advocacy and outreach are two different concerns—with advocacy directed towards those who may help the institution and outreach towards those who may not yet be aware of its services—these purposes often intersect and build on one another. In her discussion on the interplay of outreach and advocacy in relation to digital technologies, Kate Theimer writes,

> The web allowed archives to move their collections and missions beyond their physical limitations. Most archives quickly learned that an effective Web presence communicates clearly who you are and what you are about—an important contribution to building the kind of basic understanding that lays the groundwork for effective advocacy.[14]

Some of the archives selected for this study use digital outreach and advocacy for both furthering the interests of the institution itself *and* advocating the social justice causes implicit or explicit within the institution's mission. By examining each archive's employment of web 1.0 tools such as websites, web 2.0 tools such as Facebook and blogs, and analog and digital exhibits and institutional publications, my research contributes to our understanding of how, in some instances, advocacy for an institution and its social justice causes may be intertwined.

Lastly, the comparative structure of my study is an innovative departure from archival science's traditional single-site case study approach. Seminal case studies such as

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[13] For examples of the sizeable archival literature concerning archival advocacy and outreach, see Richard J. Cox, "Advocacy in the Graduate Archives Curriculum: A North American Perspective," *Janus* no. 1 (1997): 30-41; Jeremy Brett & Jasmine Jones, "Persuasion, Promotion, Perception: Untangling Archivists' Understanding of Advocacy and Outreach," *Provenance, Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 31, no. 1 (2013); 51-74; Elizabeth Hallam Smith, "Customer Focus and Marketing in Archive Service Delivery: Theory and Practice," *Journal of the Society of American Archivists* 24, no. 1 (2003): 35-53; Larry J. Hackman, ed., *Many Happy Returns: Advocacy and the Development Archives* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011).

[14] Kate Theimer, "Building a Community of Supporters: The Role of New Technologies in Advocacy," in *Many Happy Returns: Advocacy and the Development Archives*, Larry J. Hackman, ed. (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 339.

Verne Harris's work concerning South Africa and Michelle Caswell's research into archives and social justice in Cambodia have rightly had an immense influence on subsequent archival approaches to questions of social justice.[15] The predominance of single-site case studies, however, has led scholars such as Joel Blanco-Rivera—following Sue McKemmish and Anne Gilliland's earlier criticism—to remark in his 2012 dissertation on the National Security Archive that "next steps in archival scholarly work should consider the application of comparative studies."[16] By comparing archivist interventions into social causes in two different geopolitical contexts, my research opens new, productive approaches to investigating these issues. This project also, by extension, offers a methodological model for other archival scholars to follow.

I.B. Research Questions

To address the intersection of archives, historical civil rights movements, and contemporary acts of social justice, this dissertation examines the following questions:

Question 1: How have approaches to archiving civil rights materials in Northern Ireland and the American South intersected and diverged?

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[15] See, for example, Verne Harris, " 'They Should Have Destroyed More': The Destruction of Public Records by the South African State in the Final Years of Apartheid, 1990-1994," in *Archives and the Public Good: Accountability and Records in Modern Society*," eds. Richard J. Cox and David A. Wallace (Westport, CT: Quorum Books, 2002), 201-228, and Michelle Caswell, "Khmer Rouge Archives: Accountability, truth, and memory in Cambodia," *Archival Science* 10, no. 1 (2010): 25-44.

[16] Joel A. Blanco-Rivera, *Archives as Agents of Accountability and Justice: An Examination of the National Security Archive in the Context of Transitional Justice in Latin America* (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest, 2012), 72.

Question 2: How do civil rights archives in Northern Ireland and the American South intervene, if they do, in contemporary social justice issues?

I.C. Core Concepts of Study

CIVIL RIGHTS

The *Oxford English Dictionary*'s earliest written reference to civil rights occurred in G. Chapman's circa-1614 translation of Homer's *Odysseus*: "Those that are proud still at anothers [*sic*] cost, Past measure, and the ciuill [*sic*] rights of men."[17] Contemporary references to civil rights tend to be less general, often tethering the term to a specific historical and political context. As the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* states, "In contemporary political thought, the term 'civil rights' is indissolubly linked to the struggle for equality of American blacks during the 1950s and 60s […] They [civil rights] are the rights that constitute free and equal citizenship and include personal, political and economic rights."[18] This definition of civil rights—as both anchored to a specific historical context and protean in its ability to address contemporary injustices—shows the complex and multifaceted usage of the term in the dissertation.

I realized early in data collection at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute that the distinction between civil and human rights is a subtle but significant one. As I discuss in a

[17] "civil right, n.". *OED Online*. September 2014. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.pitt.idm.oclc.org/view/Entry/273203?redirectedFrom=CIVIL+RIGHTS (accessed November 15, 2014).
[18] Andrew Altman, "Civil Rights", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), accessed November 21,2014, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2013/entries/civil-rights/ .

later chapter focusing on the BCRI, some civil rights icons, such as Birmingham's Fred Shuttlesworth, envisioned their work in general terms of human rights. In fact, human rights is sometimes thought of as being too broad a category, with Andrew Clapham's *Human Rights: A Very Short Introduction* lamenting how human rights is often lost in what he calls "rights talk."[19] When talking about human rights specifically, Clapham reminds us that you are discussing a concept with origins "in the natural, constitutional, and political rights discourses that emerged in the Enlightenment."[20] It has become more common for activists, governments, and others to conceive of human rights in legal terms "recognized in international and national law" with clearly defined parameters.[21] As Judith Blau and Louis Edgar Esparza note in *Human Rights: A Primer*, human rights is often thought of generationally: "civil and political rights (first-generation rights) are rights vis-à-vis the state, whereas second-generation rights focus on fundamental social equalities."[22] Human rights also encompasses third-generation rights, which includes the interconnection of people and environments globally.[23] In terms of distinguishing between human and civil rights, the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* states, "when rights are embedded in international law we speak of them as human rights; but when they are enacted in national law we more frequently describe them as civil or constitutional rights."[24] In this respect, the term "human rights" captures the global scope of social justice work in a way not typically associated with civil rights alone.

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[19] Andrew Clapham, *Human Rights: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 31.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 32.
[22] Judith Blau and Louis Edgar Esparza, *Human Rights: A Primer* (Boston: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 19.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Andrew Altman, "Civil Rights", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), accessed February 14, 2018, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/rights-human/.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I conceptualize the struggle for human and civil rights as a specific instance of what is often more broadly termed "social justice." In this respect, I use social justice in reference to the continuing civil rights *struggle,* which I will argue draws on specific inspiration and materials from the historical civil rights *movements*. At times, there is some conflation of the civil rights struggle and movement, but I attempt to clearly differentiate between the two whenever possible. I use the term "civil rights movement," for instance, specifically in reference to the historical movements of the American South and Northern Ireland, whereas I use the term, "social justice" to refer to ongoing struggles against injustice as defined in the following framework-conceptualization:

> Ideal vision that every human being is of equal and incalculable value, entitled to shared standards of freedom, equality, and respect. These standards also apply to broader social aggregations such as communities and cultural groups. Violations of these standards must be acknowledged and confronted. It specifically draws attention to inequalities of power and how they manifest in institutional arrangements and systemic inequities that further the interests of some groups at the expense of others in the distribution of material goods, social benefits, rights, protections, and opportunities. Social justice is always a process and can never be fully achieved.[25]

Conceptualizing social justice as a continual process frees it from temporal and geographical fetters, allowing the cause of justice to be multiple, interconnected, and continuous. In some respects, this comparative study crosses temporal as well as national boundaries by exposing links between historical and contemporary struggles against civil injustices.

Furthermore, I rely on the specific terminology of social justice because the phrasing itself—inclusive and somewhat subjective and debatable—connotes a kind of

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[25] Duff et al., "Social Justice Impact of Archives," 324-325.

drawing together of disparate elements. Author and political activist John Anner, for instance, describes how the civil rights cause of the 1960s might transcend its original temporal context to become a vital force for reform in today's society by "putting matters of economic justice on the front burner while showing how a racist, sexist power structure—now somewhat more integrated—works to deny most people the basics of a decent life."[26] Manuel Castells uses a similar term, "counterpower," to further explore instances of social justice within the global protests that challenged hegemonic power structures for the rights of underrepresented individuals and groups.[27] Although such concepts as counterpower, civic protest, and identity politics all inform this dissertation's research, I attempt to avoid confusion among these similar and often overlapping terms by solely relying on the term "social justice" to discuss my research.[28]

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements, in their present incarnation, began in Europe and North America in the late 18th century. As sociologist Suzanne Staggenborg explains, social movements prior to that period had typically been brief, localized, and lacking in the now familiar "new repertoire of collective action, consisting of tactics such as large-scale demonstrations,

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[26] John Anner, introduction to *Beyond Identity Politics: Emerging Social Justice Movements in Communities of Color*, ed. John Anner (Boston: South End Press, 1996), 11.
[27] Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012), 5.
[28] Identity politics, for instance, informs my conceptualization of social justice. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* defines identity politics as signifying "a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustices of members of certain social groups. Rather than organizing solely around belief systems, programmatic manifestos, or party affiliation, identity political formations typically aim to secure the political freedom of a specific constituency marginalized within its larger context. Members of that constituency assert or reclaim ways of understanding their distinctiveness that challenge dominant oppressive characterizations, with the goal of greater self-determination." Heyes, Cressida, "Identity Politics", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2012 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2012/entries/identity-politics/ (accessed November 21, 2014).

strikes, and boycotts."[29] Protesting through the "repertoire of collective action" has remained the norm since the rise of capitalism and nation states, weathering centuries of global political shifts and technological revolutions. In many respects, the global social movements of the 1960s were employing the same tactics as localized protests a century earlier. Sociologists Linda Connolly and Niamh Hourigan explain that this decade of protests is collectively referred to as the "new social movement," and include such prominent causes as the "women's, peace, civil rights, and student movements."[30]

Given the unprecedented focus on social movements during the 1960s, scholarship on the matter grew in quantity and sophistication. Sociologists Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani describe the shift in scholarship from being moribund in the 1940s to an "unprecedented pace" of development in the 1970s. Della Porta and Diani write, "Today, the study of social movements is solidly established […] The excitement and optimism of the roaring 1960s may be long gone, but social and political events over the last four decades have hardly rendered the investigation of grassroots activism any less relevant or urgent."[31] In terms of how to define social movements, however, scholarship remains unsettled on a definitive definition. As David A. Snow relates in the *Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, some scholars choose to emphasize such characteristics as the movement's ideology or structure, while others may focus on its networked or political nature.[32] Sydney Tarrow and others have gone further, arguing that social movements are part of a larger category termed "contentious politics," which "also

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[29] Suzanne Staggenborg, *Social Movements* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4.
[30] Linda Connolly and Niamh Hourigan, "Introduction," in *Social Movements and Ireland*, edited by Linda Connolly and Niamh Hourigan (New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 1.
[31] Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, 2nd edition (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 1.
[32] David A. Snow, "Social Movements," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, et. al. (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 1200-1201.

includes less sustained forms of contention—like riots and strike waves—and more extensive ones—like civil wars, revolutions, and episodes of democratization—and it intersects with routine political processes—like elections and interest group politics."[33]

While acknowledging the variety of legitimate alternate classifications, I have chosen to adopt Mario Diani's definition of "social movements," which places more emphasis on their networked nature:

> Social movements are a distinct social process, consisting of the mechanisms through which actors engaged in collective action:
> - are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents
> - are linked by dense informal networks
> - share a distinct collective identity[34]

I chose the definition because it is well established and aligns with my dissertation's focus on transnational networks of social movements. Diani's definition is also consonant with Connolly and Hourigan's assessment of social movements in Ireland, which occur in a country traditionally assumed impervious to large-scale protests due to the hegemony of the Catholic Church and the State.[35] Connolly and Hourigan describe social movements as "elusive phenomena with unclear boundaries in time and space" that "mobilise in several different centres at the same time."[36] As a result, by adopting a definition that focuses on the porous boundaries and networked nature of social movements, I explore linkages between historical social movements and continuing issues of social justice.

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[33] Sydney Tarrow, "Contentious Politics," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, et. al. (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 266.
[34] Della Porta and Diani, *Social Movements*, 20.
[35] Connolly and Hourigan write, "Additionally, it is often inaccurately assumed that NSMs could not and did not flourish in societies 'like Ireland' (a country with a small, predominantly rural, population on the periphery of Western Europe) either before or after the 1960s, because of the social and political dominance of the Catholic Church and its close relationship with the State." *Social Movements and Ireland*, 3.
[36] Connolly and Hourigan, *Social Movements and Ireland*, 4.

I.D. Sites of Study

As previously mentioned, my dissertation focuses on four sites within Northern Ireland and the American South: the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, the Linen Hall Library, and the Museum of Free Derry. The sample, therefore, includes two sites from the American South and two from Northern Ireland. Prior to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History joining the study, I had unsuccessfully solicited the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, AL and the National Voting Rights Museum and Institute in Selma, AL to take part in the study. My future research might expand this study by including one of these sites, as well as the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, which would allow me to more fully compare how archivists in Northern Ireland and the American South archive and potentially repurpose civil rights materials. For the present study, however, I believe that the four sites selected provide a strong and balanced sample for conducting exploratory research.

BIRMINGHAM CIVIL RIGHTS INSTITUTE

The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (BCRI) opened in 1992 and has since had over two million visitors from around the world. A self-described "cultural and educational research center," the BCRI hosts permanent and traveling civil rights exhibits, an archive and oral history project, and multiple education and community facilities. Its current mission statement reflects the institution's scope and purpose: "To enlighten each

generation about civil and human rights by exploring our common past and working together in the present to build a better future."[37] The BCRI further emphasizes its commitment to present-day justice by describing itself as a " 'living institution' that views the lessons of the past as crucial to understanding our heritage and defining our future."[38] Furthermore, the BCRI boasts a unique focus on youth and adult education, which includes such offerings as a K-12 curriculum guide with lesson plans for teachers, the "Parents Plus" program to educate and empower parents through community resources, and the "Heritage Alive" interactive book series for young people.

In terms of its scope, the BCRI's origins are firmly rooted within the Birmingham municipality. In Susan Anderson's dissertation, *The Past on Trial: The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing, Civil Rights Memory and the Remaking of Birmingham*, she points out that the BCRI creators acted with a specific political agenda to demonstrate the city's progress:

> Located at the corner of Sixteenth Street and Sixth Avenue North, across from the rebuilt church and the park that staged the mass demonstrations of 1963, the Institute presented a dramatic narrative of the civil rights story with Birmingham at its center and represented, by its very presence on the downtown landscape, a shifting of political power and priorities.[39]

In the more than twenty years since its founding, the BCRI has continued to educate both local and global visitors about Birmingham's unique civil rights story through dynamic exhibits, programs, and digital outreach such as "The Struggle Continues" blog. Given its focus on social justice through education and its unique municipal origins and commitments, the BCRI has proven a rich research site.

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[37] "About BCRI," *Birmingham Civil Rights Institute*, accessed January 29, 2015, http://www.bcri.org/Information/AboutBCRI.html.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Susan Willoughby Anderson, *The Past on Trial: The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing, Civil Rights Memory and the Remaking of Birmingham* (PhD. Diss., Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest LLC, 2008), 175.

MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

In many respects, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) is a tale of two archives. Such historical duality seems commonplace in Mississippi, as encapsulated in the title of historian Carol V. R. George's 2015 book on religion and racial justice, *One Mississippi, Two Mississippi*. George's work explores the ongoing conflict of two oppositional visions for what the state presently is and what it should or should not become: "one the old, 'closed society' of segregationists who memorialized the 'Southern way of life,' and the other a loose coalition of black and white moderates who accepted integration as an aspect of modernity, morality, and economic progress."[40] The MDAH has, at different junctures, served as an exemplar of both versions of Mississippi, originating as a part of the governmental machinery of the "culturally dominant Mississippi" before becoming a force within the "other Mississippi" of racial reconciliation and progress.

Boasting one of the earliest state archives, Mississippi followed Alabama's example with the creation of its own state archive in 1902. Beginning in 1941, as Ernst Posner's history of state archives relates, the MDAH was housed in a small, inadequate space within the War Memorial building, wherein it would remain for 23 years before receiving its own facilities in 1964.[41] It seems fitting that the MDAH's early years were spent inside a War Memorial, given the institution's origins within a segregated, post-reconstruction South desperate to memorialize a politically romanticized "Lost Cause" history of the confederacy. Both the first and second directors of the Mississippi

[40] George, *One Mississippi, Two Mississippi*, 216.
[41] Ernst Posner, *American State Archives* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 159.

Department of Archives and History—Dunbar Rowland (1902-1937) and William McCain (1938-1955)—perpetuated the dominant, Pro-Southern view of history. McCain was particularly well known as one of the Mississippi establishment who fought segregation in the 1960s, and his archival bias towards preserving confederate history—such as hidden Masonic records that might have disenfranchised white Mississippians during reconstruction—to the exclusion of African American history is obvious in such writings as his 1950 history and program rationale of the MDAH for *The American Archivist*.[42]

In more recent times, however, the MDAH has become increasingly recognized for its focus on preserving and commemorating the civil rights movement. Remarking on a 2014 MDAH exhibit on the "Freedom Summer" of 1964 wherein white activists had come to the state to draw national attention to the disenfranchisement of African-American Mississippians, the museum's project manager, Jacqueline Dace stated, "Fifty years ago, this exhibit would not have been within this space." [43] The MDAH archive now houses significant civil rights materials, featuring such notable collections as the Medgar and Myrlie Evers Papers and the Tougaloo College Civil Rights Collections, which is comprised of unique photographs, personal papers, oral histories, and other artifacts related to Mississippi's role in the civil rights movement. Furthermore, the archive

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[42] McCain's biases are completely unsurprising given the ideology of Mississippi's ruling elite at the time and his personal longtime role as head of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. McCain's article is also telling in its lack of any acknowledgement of the history of its large African American community. William D. McCain, "History and Program of the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History," *The American Archivist* 13, no. 1 (Jan.,1950): 27-34.

[43] Debbie Elliott, "Mississippi Marks 50 Years since History-Changing 'Freedom Summer'," *NPR*, June 05, 2014, accessed May 09, 2015, http://www.npr.org/blogs/codeswitch/2014/06/05/319099188/mississippi-marks-50-years-since-history-changing-freedom-summer

interfaces with MDAH's Museum Division, which features the civil rights artifacts on display in the recently opened Mississippi Civil Rights Museum.

LINEN HALL LIBRARY

The Linen Hall Library prides itself on its unique status as both Belfast's oldest library—founded in 1788—and the sole remaining subscription library in Ireland.[44] The Library self-identifies as an institution acting on behalf of its local user population, describing itself as independent and providing "resources [that] are owned by the community for the community."[45] Alongside other well-respected collections, it boasts a 250,000-item Northern Ireland Political Collection (NIPC), which is specifically devoted to the recent sectarian conflict known as the Troubles. Furthermore, the Library recently won a £400,000 grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund to conserve and digitize portions of its Political Collection. Looking to increase access to materials providing "unique insight into a difficult and contested heritage," the Library chose to use the funding to digitize political posters and periodicals from 1966 to 2014, due to their cultural and historical significance.[46] To supplement the digitization project, the Library has embarked on several exhibitions, a schools outreach project, and an oral archive of community recollections of the Troubles.

The Library describes its collection in terms that align with the BCRI's earlier stated commitment to local communities:

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[44] "About Us," *Linen Hall Library*, Accessed January 29, 2015, https://www.linenhall.com/pages/about-us
[45] Ibid.
[46] "HLF Announcement of grant for linen Hall Library 'Troubles' history collection," *The Linen Hall Library*, accessed May 11, 2015, https://www.linenhall.com/news/79.

> The Linen Hall Library collects 'without fear or favour' and provides a neutral city centre location. Within it, the Northern Ireland Political Collection is a place where any view can be consulted. Here our community can find what, after all, is the literature they produced, decision makers can find material on which to base opinions, political opponents can view each other's material, and students of political conflict can find an unrivalled resource. By making the material available, the library aims to play a vital role in contributing to a better understanding of the conflict.[47]

In this respect, the archive acts as a unique space for drawing together, preserving, and disseminating Northern Ireland's varied, contested narratives of the Troubles. Furthermore, the NIPC houses materials particular to the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, which most notably include the archive of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. The Linen Hall Library therefore has provided an ideal research site given its unique approach to archiving the Troubles, its extensive civil rights holdings, and its unprecedented opportunity to increase access to NIPC materials through digitization.

MUSEUM OF FREE DERRY: THE NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS ARCHIVE

A self-described "archive focusing on the civil rights era of the 1960s and the Free Derry/early troubles era of the 1970s," the Museum of Free Derry has an archive of 25,000 items related to its mission. The Museum opened in 2006 as an extension of the Bloody Sunday Trust, "a Derry based history and educational project established to commemorate the events of Bloody Sunday, and to preserve the memory of those murdered that day."[48] It continues to be managed by the Bloody Sunday Trust and is currently entering a phase of transition due to the museum's success. The museum moved to new facilities in 2017 to better accommodate visitors and make its archival holdings

[47] Yvonne Murphy, et. al., *Troubled Images: Posters and Images of the Northern Ireland Conflict from the Linen Hall Library* (Belfast: Linen Hall Library, 2001).
[48] *Bloody Sunday Trust*, accessed May 11, 2015, http://www.bloodysundaytrust.org/index-02.html.

available. Along with changes in its physical space, the archive is working towards a digital and searchable database that would replaces its current handwritten record of collections.

The Museum echoes both the BCRI and the Linen Hall Library in explicitly referencing its commitment to community: "It [The Museum of Free Derry] will be the community's story told from the community's perspective, not the distorted version parroted by the government and most of the media over the years."[49] In fact, as the University of Ulster's Elizabeth Crooke relates, the Museum exists to act as "an active part of the local community."[50] As shown by its overt political stance, the Museum fits Andrew Flinn's description of a "politically motivated" community archive, which "emphasizes both the absence of material from mainstream archives and museums and the benefits which preserving and using this material brings to individuals and to the group."[51] In this respect, the Museum offers an alternative perspective to the Linen Hall Library's ethic of "engaged neutrality," thereby providing my dissertation with two divergent philosophies for archiving civil rights in Northern Ireland.

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[49] "Introduction," *The Museum of Free Derry: The National Civil Rights Archive*, accessed January 29, 2015, http://www.museumoffreederry.org/introduction.html

[50] Elizabeth Crooke, "The Material Culture of Conflict: Artefacts in the Museum of Free Derry, Northern Ireland," in *Narrating Objects, Collecting Stories*, ed. Sandra H. Dudley et. al. (New York: Routledge, 2012), 28.

[51] Flinn, "The impact of independent and community archives on professional archival thinking and practice," 151.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The dissertation's research questions address three fundamental intersections: the civil rights movements of Northern Ireland and the American South, information and power, and archives and social justice. The first topic, in particular, delves into a vast literature, which necessitated that I limit my review to civil rights scholarship addressing the dissemination of civil rights philosophies, strategies, and materials. Secondly, my review addresses information's capacity to both construct and counteract hegemonic power—a well-documented phenomenon within historical and present-day digital contexts. I conclude the review by funneling my focus to the archival concept of social justice. In so doing, I hope to show how information science and archival literatures align and complement one another to address my research problem. Overall, the review is intended to orient readers both to the dissertation's multidisciplinary theoretical stakes and its specifically archival considerations of practice.

II.A. Civil Rights in the American South

Historian Mark Newman defines the civil right movement of the 1960s as "America's pre-eminent social movement of the twentieth century, […which], overturned *de jure* racial segregation and African American disfranchisement in the South, enhanced black pride, and helped open up economic, political and cultural opportunities for many blacks across

the nation."[52] Although Newman's definition captures the stable, popular understanding of the movement, scholarly interpretations of American civil rights have shifted over time. Barbara Comb's 2014 study of the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery offers a succinct explanation of how historical approaches to the movement have changed:

> Traditionally, the consensus among historians is that America's Civil Rights Movement began with the Montgomery Bus Boycott and ended in the mid-1960s with the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Recently, historians have begun to reframe the African-American struggle for freedom and popularize the concept of the long Civil Rights Movement, which extends the undertaking by including civil liberties struggles of the 1930s, and also expands the Movement's influence beyond the continental United States.[53]

Herein Combs signals transnational comparative research—in the vein of this dissertation—as indicative of the fresh approaches to civil rights scholarship extending the movement's chronology both backwards and forwords.[54]

Both traditional and revisionist civil rights scholarship inevitably addresses the long, horrific history of a period of systemic racial injustice known as the Jim Crow South.[55] Writing in 1903, W.E.B. DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk,* provides a representative snapshot of the Jim Crow South at the turn of the twentieth century:

> Slowly but surely his eyes begin to catch the shadows of the color-line: here he meets crowds of Negroes and whites; then he is suddenly aware that he cannot discover a single dark face […]He realizes at last that silently, restlessly, the world about flows by in two great streams: they ripple on in the same sunshine, they approach and mingle their waters in seeming carelessness,--then they divide and flow wide apart. It is done quietly; no mistakes are made, or if one occurs, the swift arm of the law and of public opinion swings down for a moment, as when the

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[52] Mark Newman, *The Civil Rights Movement* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004), 1.
[53] Barbara Harris Combs, *From Selma to Montgomery: The Long March to Freedom* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 11.
[54] While acknowledging the expanded historical roots of the movement, I limit this review to the traditional period of the 1960s South, which provides the most appropriate historical context for this dissertation's comparative analysis with Northern Ireland.
[55] For a recently published and deeply disturbing analysis of how African Americans were terrorized during that period, see: Equal Justice Initiative, *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*, report summary, accessed February 11, 2015, http://www.eji.org/files/EJI%20Lynching%20in%20America%20SUMMARY.pdf

> other day a black man and a white woman were arrested for talking together on Whitehall Street in Atlanta.[56]

Echoing DuBois's insight into the outside observer traveling through or embedded in Southern culture, the historian and social activist Howard Zinn's *The Southern Mystique* recounts his experiences at Atlanta's Spelman College. Describing his seven years "within the Negro community of the Deep South," Zinn begins by offering his first impression of driving south and encountering "an invisible mist over the entire Deep South, distorting justice, blurring perspective, and, most of all, indissoluble by reason."[57] Zinn's work presaged the expanded geographical focus of later studies of the civil rights movement by arguing against his own mysterious and inscrutable first impression of the South. His assumption, he argues, was symptomatic of a national rendering of the South as "strange" in order to shield ostensibly more progressive parts of the nation from their own unjust acts.[58]

Although a survey of the voluminous literature focusing on the Jim Crow South is beyond the scope of this dissertation, C. Vann Woodward's seminal 1955 text, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, merits some discussion due to its influence on subsequent scholarship.[59] Woodward set out to remedy two common misconceptions:

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[56] W.E.Burghardt Dubois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: The New American Library, 1969), 204
[57] Howard Zinn, *The Southern Mystique* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2013), 4.
[58] In archival scholar Rand Jimerson's reflections on a childhood move to 1960s Alabama, he echoes the trope of a mysterious and foreign South in describing the place as "exotic and remote like China or Africa." Randall C. Jimerson, *Shattered Glass in Birmingham: My Family's Fight for Civil Rights, 1961-1964* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2014), 6.
[59] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford UP, 1955). For a brief sample of relatively recent texts focusing specifically on the historical Jim Crow code in the South, see: William H. Chafe, Raymond Gavin, and Robert Korstad, *Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Tell About Life in the Segregated South* (New York: New Press, 2001); R. Volney Riser, *Defying Disfranchisement: Black Voting Rights Activism in the Jim Crow South, 1890-1908* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2010); Stephanie Cole and Natalie J. Ring, *Folly of Jim Crow: Rethinking the Segregated South* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M UP, 2012); Mark Shultz, *The Rural Face of White Supremacy: Beyond Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Malinda

"Reconstruction constituted an interruption of normal relations between the races in the South" and that the Jim Crow system "followed automatically upon the overthrow of Reconstruction as an immediate consequence of Redemption."[60] Writing at the dawn of what he termed, a "New Reconstruction," Woodward notes that civil rights activists were then beginning to challenge the oppressive Jim Crow system of segregation, which "lent the sanction of law to a racial ostracism that extended to churches and schools, to housing and jobs, to eating and drinking."[61] Subsequent historians have since challenged Woodward's thesis regarding the late 19th century origins of Jim Crow, but his bold prediction that the burgeoning activism against segregation were "of sufficient depth and impact as to define the end of an era of Southern history" proved prescient.[62]

Monumental figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Rosa Parks tended to dominate historical narratives published in the immediate aftermath of the civil rights movement. Along with a sometimes myopic focus on key individuals, some early historians also portrayed the movement as both void of internal conflict and linear in its progression. For instance, the cover art for Dorothy Sterling's 1968 history of the movement—in press, according to Sterling's addendum, during King's assassination—mirrors its content by featuring oversized water-colored faces of a pantheon of African American leaders from Frederick Douglas to Ralph Abernathy watching over depictions of key civil rights events.[63] Histories written by Thomas Brooks and David Garrow during

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Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[60] Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 13-14.

[61] Ibid., 8.

[62] Ibid., 11. For a concise survey of how subsequent scholars have built on Woodward's work, see: W. Fitzugh Brundage, "Introduction," *Folly of Jim Crow: Rethinking the Segregated South*, Stephanie Cole and Natalie J. Ring (College Station, TX: Texas A&M UP, 2012), 1-16.

[63] Dorothy Sterling, *Tear Down the Walls! A History of the American Civil Rights Movement.* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1968).

the mid to late 1970s, respectively, chart the movement from post-war 1940s to the eventual rise of the black power movement in the late 1960s.[64] Brooks' structure is indicative of what revisionist historians call a "classical" telling of the civil rights movement, wherein, as in the case of Brooks, the movement becomes "a line of march that flows from A. Philip Randolph's great gesture of defiance in 1941 down to the magnificent March on Washington on August 28, 1963."[65] As historian Emilye Crosby points out, the tidy, "classical" historical narrative continued for decades in such forms as the "somewhat top-down angle" of Charles Eagles and Jacqueline Dowd Hall's influential civil rights histories.[66]

Gradually the analytical focus of scholarship expanded to include both everyday activists and previously unaddressed regional and localized civil rights events. By 2000, Eagles's call for, in part, a new generation of historians more detached from the "profound and justifiable moral commitment to the aims of the civil rights movement," had already been set in motion within the growing diversity of perspectives and analytical topics.[67] Clayborne Carson, for instance, had previously challenged the civil rights moniker itself, arguing instead for a phrase like "black freedom struggle," which shifted the emphasis from a monolithic national campaign to a "locally-based social movement."[68] As Crosby states in her 2011 introduction to the *Civil Rights History from the Ground Up*, the

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[64] Thomas R. Brooks, *Walls Come Tumbling Down: A History of the Civil Rights Movement 1940-1970* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc, 1974); David J. Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting rights Act of 1965* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978).
[65] Brooks, *Walls Come Tumbling Down*, 296.
[66] Crosby, *Civil Rights History from the Ground Up: Local Struggles, a National Movement* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2011), 7. For an example of the material criticized by Crosby, see, Charles W. Eagles, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement in America* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986).
[67] Charles W. Eagles, "Toward New Histories of the Civil Rights Era," *The Journal of Southern History* 66, no. 4 (2000): 815.
[68] Clayborne Carson, "Civil Rights and the Black Freedom Struggle," in *The Civil Rights Movement in America*, ed. Charles W. Eagles (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), 23.

"subsequent decade and a half has seen a proliferation of local studies that range widely in terms of their emphases, approaches, time frames, conclusions, and locations."[69]

The oft-repeated "superficial, sugar-coated narrative" of the civil rights movement, to use Crosby's words, has given way to recent scholarship focusing on such varied topics as women, economics, and armed self-defense.[70] Nicholas Johnson's 2014 book, *Negroes and the Gun; The Black Tradition of Arms*, for instance, challenges the typical non-violent narrative of the civil rights movement. By charting the African American community's tradition of armed self-defense from Frederick Douglas to Martin Luther King and beyond, Johnson provides a very recent instance of historians reviving civil rights stories "submerged because it seems hard to reconcile with the dominant narrative."[71] Johnson's sentiments echo, among many others, Belinda Robnett's 1997 study of the role of women in the civil rights movement. Robnett's work provides yet another window into the shifting historical perceptions of civil rights, wherein, she argues that the fact that "African-American women, for the most part, did not share primary or secondary formal leadership titles should in no way obscure the fact that they were leaders."[72]

Jacqueline Hall's seminal 2005 essay, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past" provided historians a further touch point for expanding the

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[69] Crosby, *Civil Rights History from the Ground Up*, 6.
[70] Ibid., 24.
[71] Nicholas Johnson, *Negroes and the Gun: The Black Tradition of Arms* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2014), 13.
[72] Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long?: African American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), 191. For other examples of recent scholarship concerning women and the civil rights movement, see: Davis W. Houck and David E. Dixon, *Women and the Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1965* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2009) & Bruce A. Glasrud and Merline Pitre, *Southern Black Women in the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M Press, 2013).

movement's chronology.[73] In the essay, Hall defines the "long civil rights movement" as a kind of "harder" and "*truer* story:"

> [The civil rights movement's] root in the liberal and radical milieu of the late 1930s, was intimately tied to the 'rise and fall of the New Deal Order,' accelerated during World War II, stretched far beyond the South, was continuously and ferociously contested, and in the 1960s and 1970s inspired a 'movement of movements' that 'def[ies] any narrative of collapse.[74]

Oxford historian, Stephen Tuck, provides an example of how scholars have since shifted the movement's scope well beyond the late 1960s. In his "'We are Taking up Where the Movement of the 1960s Left off': The Proliferation and Power of African American Protests during the 1970s," Tuck identifies the "often hidden grassroots struggle which tells a markedly different story: one of continued activism."[75] Herein Tuck makes visible the vital link between the historical civil rights movement and the ongoing civil rights struggle—a continuity that remains visible in the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement.

II.B. Civil Rights in Northern Ireland

Across the Atlantic, tensions between Ulster's "native" and colonial populations have existed in Northern Ireland for centuries. As Tim Pat Coogan's history of politics in Northern Ireland from 1966 to 1996 notes, "the planters' descendants still live in the area,

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[73] Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (Mar., 2005): 1233-1263.
[74] Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement," 1235.
[75] Stephen Tuck, " 'We Are Taking up Where the Movement of the 1960s Left off': The Proliferation and Power of African American Protest during the 1970s," *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 4 (Oct., 2008): 640.

some of them as keenly aware of the dangers, real or imagined, posed by their Catholic neighbours as were their ancestors during the periods of ferocious warfare involving Protestants and Catholics which ensued throughout the seventh century."[76] Relations between the communities further deteriorated upon the treaty for Irish independence from England, which in 1921, sealed a minority Catholic population together with the Protestant majority in a country called Northern Ireland. [77] Max Hastings, a journalist in Northern Ireland during the 1960s, describes how Protestants saw the newfound Northern Ireland as "a fortress, whose establishment and survival had been desperately threatened for years by politicians, Catholics and Irish nationalists."[78] In reaction to real and perceived threats, the Protestant ruling class allied themselves with working class Protestants to exclude Catholics from certain segments of society.[79] Systemic injustices against the marginalized Catholic population would continue for decades before eventually giving rise to the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

Civil Rights in Northern Ireland, as Joanne McEvoy's *Politics of Northern Ireland* relates, grew from multiple movements—including the Campaign for Social Justice, Derry Citizens' Action Committee, and the People's Democracy—that to some degree coalesced into the singular Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA).[80] When NICRA officially began in 1967, it was a self-described "product of frustration" with the failure of

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[76] Tim Pat Coogan, *The Troubles: Ireland's Ordeal 1966-1996 and the Search for Peace* (Boulder, CO: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1996), 5.
[77] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2004), 292.
[78] Max Hastings, *Barricades in Belfast: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1970), 22.
[79] Liam O'Dowd, Bill Rolston, and Mike Tomlinson, *Northern Ireland: Between Civil Rights and Civil War* (London: CSE Books, 1980), 9.
[80] Joanne McEvoy, *Politics of Northern Ireland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 33.

earlier politics and violence to end "47 years of effective dictatorship."[81] John J. Kane's 1970 *Review of Politics* analysis, "Civil Rights in Northern Ireland," echoed NICRA's assessment of the situation in Northern Ireland arguing, "discrimination practices against Northern Irish Catholics in voting, housing, and jobs [were] perhaps one of the most notorious violations of civil liberty."[82]

Kane goes on to describe the Special Powers Act—which, among other things, permits arrest without a warrant, imprisonment without charge or trial, and flogging—as representative of the fact that at the time "some of the most serious abuses of individual liberty are legal in Northern Ireland."[83] Present day historians tend to concur, with social scientist Joanne McEvoy observing, "The Northern Ireland 'state' was based on fifty years of unionist rule that discriminated against the Catholic minority […] by the 1960s minority grievances were expressed by an organized civil rights campaign which called for an end to discrimination and the reform of the state."[84] Whereas NICRA reacted against systemic, nation-wide injustice, Niall Ó Dochartaigh's 1997 study of the city of Derry examines how local politics mobilized the national civil rights movement. In *From Civil Rights to Armalites: Derry and the Birth of the Irish Troubles*, Ó Dochartaigh writes,

> Prior to 1968, local authorities had extensive powers, including powers to allocate public housing. Sectarian discrimination at local government level was at the heart of Catholic dissatisfaction with the status quo in Northern Ireland and was the principle focus of the early civil rights mobilization.[85]

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[81] Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), *"We Shall Overcome"…. The History of the Struggle for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland 1968-1978* (Belfast: NICRA, 1978), http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/crights/nicra/nicra78.htm#contents
[82] John J. Kane, "Civil Rights in Northern Ireland," *The Review of Politics* 33.1 (Jan., 1971), 62.
[83] Ibid., 64.
[84] McEvoy, *Politics of Northern Ireland*, 31.
[85] Niall Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights to Armalites: Derry and the Birth of the Irish Troubles* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 2.

Ó Dochartaigh goes on to explain how housing discrimination effectively negated the will of the Catholic majority in Derry and, thereby, helped sparked the civil rights movement in Derry and the rest of Northern Ireland.[86]

The particular motivations and objectives of that movement, however, remain much debated to this day. McEvoy, for instance, discusses the multifaceted—and sometimes antagonistic—motivations of campaigners, unionists, and others:

> For some, the objective of the movement was to undermine Stormont and bring about a united Ireland. For others, the primary goal was civil rights first to be followed by pressure for a united Ireland at a future date. For many unionists, however, civil rights was simply a tactic to secure a united Ireland and destabilize Stormont. They pointed to the anti-partitionist rhetoric of the civil rights movement.[87]

Hastings, writing just two years after the movement began, relates how its original motivations were simply "basic democratic rights for every Ulster citizen," which would have seemed reasonable, he argues, to anyone outside of a country with a three hundred year "tradition of suspicion and hatred."[88] Others, such as the civil rights leader Bernadette Devlin, found motivation within a global socialist struggle not bounded by religious communities. From her perspective, those marching were not spurred by Catholic equality per se, but rather "people's needs" within an unjust society taking economic advantage of a marginalized minority.[89] Despite the mosaic of motivations driving the movement, its core leadership showed commitment to a unified strategy of non-violent protest.

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[86] Ibid., 2.
[87] McEvoy, *Politics of Northern Ireland*, 35.
[88] Hastings, *Barricades in Belfast*, 40.
[89] Devlin, *The Price of My Soul*, 96. Prince provides further information regarding Devlin's global perspective on the movement, offering the anecdote of when she became "an honorary Black Panther sister" and gave the group a golden key to New York City that she had been awarded. Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68*, 213.

Reverend Ian Paisley and his Loyalist counter marchers—in collusion with the policing Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)—met non-violence with violence in Derry's Bogside in October 1968 and on the Burntollet Bridge in January 1969.[90] Such unwarranted and disturbing showings of violence in conjunction with other sociopolitical factors would later precipitate what Ó Dochartaigh memorably describes as a shift "from civil rights to armalites." The University of Pittsburgh's Tony Novosel relates in his recent publication, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity*, that the common Unionist perception of the civil rights movement as a front for the Irish Republican Army (IRA) might have actually "created the very 'devil' that it believed already existed."[91] Novosel identifies the direct correlation between the RUC assault on the October 5, 1968 NICRA march in Derry and the beginning of the long and bloody conflict commonly known as the Troubles.[92]

As Ó Dochartaigh describes in the particular context of Derry, the conflict had escalated beyond the "possibility of resolution through the granting of the original civil rights demands" and the IRA sensed an opportunity to capitalize on the unprecedented ill will towards the RUC and British army.[93] By 1971, the self-destructive cycle of government actions and sectarian responses precluded the possibility of a non-violent resolution at that time. Ó Dochartaigh provides a succinct account of the deepening conflict and its tragic effects:

> [T]he Catholic community in Derry would be policed and controlled totally without its consent, a situation which amounted to a military occupation. Once

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[90] To read more about the impact of these incidents, see: Maurice Punch, *State Violence, Collusion and the Troubles* (London: Pluto Press, 2012), 65-70.
[91] Tony Novosel, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity: The Frustrated Promise of Political Loyalism* (London: Pluto Press, 2013).
[92] Ibid., 23.
[93] Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights to Armalites*, 98, 162.

> this was the case, it opened the way for mass radicalization, and a drastic alienation of Catholics in Derry from the state which by now was as much another British state as the Northern Irish state. From such a situation there would develop a framework of repression, control and continued widespread alienation which facilitated continued conflict.[94]

As both Ó Dochartaigh and Novosel point out, missed opportunities coupled with decades-long, cyclical patterns of violence superseded those promising, early days of non-violent civil resistance.[95]

Political and historical scholarship on the later period in Northern Ireland between 1969 and 1974 dwells on the unprecedented violence in the form of Loyalist and Republican paramilitary groups.[96] The cracks in the partition of Ireland became visible in what David Fitzpatrick, a Trinity College historian, termed the belated demonstration of "the futility of a constitutional 'settlement' which left the Catholic third of Northern Ireland's population to fend for itself" in a hostile state.[97] In 1969, as Coogan relates, the "gathering storm of Catholic grievance burst" into what is now known as the Troubles.[98] Car bombings, assassinations, mass internment without trial, and civilian casualties became everyday realities in Belfast, Derry, and other parts of Northern Ireland, as decades of paramilitary conflict raged between the Irish Republican Army (IRA)[99], the British military forces, and Loyalist groups like the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and the Ulster Defense Association (UDA). In 1972 alone, the bloodiest year of the Troubles, 496 people died: fourteen in the "Bloody Sunday" British massacre of Catholic Civil Rights

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[94] Ibid., 193.
[95] Ibid., 290; Novosel, *Northern Ireland's Lost Opportunity,* 215.
[96] Brian M. Walker, *A Political History of the Two Irelands: From Partition to Peace* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 119.
[97] David Fitzpatrick, "Ireland Since 1870." in *The Oxford History of Ireland.* R.F. Foster, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 229.
[98] Coogan, *Troubles*, 25.
[99] I am using IRA here in the broad sense, including the Official and Provisional IRA and its subsequent derivations.

protesters and bystanders and nine in IRA bombings on "Bloody Friday."[100] As historian Paul Bew's tally of those killed from 1972-1973 shows, no one group had a monopoly on suffering: "These years saw an intense republican onslaught, but the largest single group of casualties was amongst Catholic civilians, who suffered 254 deaths out of a total of 759, which included also 125 Protestant civilians, 167 British army soldiers, twenty-six members of the UDR, and twenty-four policeman."[101] Murders and bombings would continue to plague the citizens of Northern Ireland, as a menacing stalemate stretched from 1974 to 1990.[102]

The first promising break in the violence came with the 1994 IRA declaration of a "complete cessation of military operations".[103] A Loyalist ceasefire soon followed, and all parties began the long process towards peace. In 1998, voters of Northern Ireland approved the Belfast Agreement (also known as the Good Friday Agreement) and ushered in the present power-sharing government. Brian Walker's *A Political History of the Two Irelands* credits the Agreement's overarching philosophy for its success:

> Unionists remained unionist, nationalists remained nationalist and there were still differences between north and south and between Britain and Ireland. Some aspects of the agreement were ambiguous and some problems were left to the future. Nonetheless, the agreement was a major achievement. It established innovative ways for people and communities to co-exist and to create a broadly acceptable accommodation of different views.[104]

Although the peace process freed Northern Ireland from decades of continuous violence, the enmity of the Troubles lingers in other forms. In their sociological study of class division in Northern Ireland, Colin Coulter and Michael Murray argue that the Troubles

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[100] Ed Moloney, *Voices from the Grave* (New York: Public Affairs, 2010), 485.
[101] Paul Bew, *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity 1789-2006* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 510.
[102] Walker, *Two Irelands*, 126.
[103] Colin Coulter and Michael Murray, *Introduction to Northern Ireland After the Troubles,* edited by Colin Coulter and Michael Murray. (New York: Manchester UP, 2008), 1.
[104] Walker, *Two Irelands*, 147.

has not truly concluded: "While Northern Ireland may no longer be at war with itself, neither can it be said to be genuinely at peace. Those hatreds that were in part the source of the conflict remain clearly evident and may even in fact have grown."[105] Minor miracles such as the late Martin McGuinness—ex-IRA commander and Deputy First Minister—shaking hands with the Queen in Belfast signal undeniable steps away from the Troubles, but the specter of violence, both past and present, continues to haunt a country struggling to remain on the slow road to peace.[106]

II.C. Atlantic Crossings

Rather than focusing on the geopolitical boundaries that divide and circumscribe people groups, a growing body of multi-disciplinary scholarship has begun to prioritize the oceanic links between countries and cultures.[107] The idea of a trans-Atlantic method of analysis, or what Paul Gilroy's groundbreaking *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* termed the "Black Atlantic," has yielded much fruitful comparative analyses that might not have been thinkable previous to his 1993 text.[108] In part, Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* sought to undo tidy narratives of racial mystification and essentialism

[105] Coulter and Murray, *After the Troubles*, 21.
[106] Óglaigh na hÉireann's, a dissident republican group, attempt to bomb a hotel on March 25, 2013, and the January 8, 2015 disarming of an explosive device at the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) headquarters provide relatively recent examples of lingering political violence in Northern Ireland. For the Irish Times coverage of the latter incident, see: "British Army Bomb Experts Make Safe a Viable Device Sent to PSNI," *The Irish Times*, last modified January 8, 2015, http://www.irishtimes.com/news/consumer/british-army-bomb-experts-make-safe-a-viable-device-sent-to-psni-1.2059505
[107] For a recent example, see: Rachel Price, *The Object of the Atlantic: Concrete Aesthetics in Cuba, Brazil, and Spain 1868-1968* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014).
[108] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

of what he terms the "ontological essentialist" or "brute pan-Africanism" strand within black art and cultural criticism.[109] As Gilroy writes,

> If this appears to be little more than a roundabout way of saying that the reflexive cultures and consciousness of the European settlers and those of the Africans they enslaved, the "Indians" they slaughtered, and the Asians they indentured were not, even in situations of the most extreme brutality, sealed off hermetically from each other, then so be it.[110]

Situating African identity within a web of local and global connections belies both national and racial essentialism, as well as disrupts "the tidy flow of cultural output into neat, symmetrical units."[111]

Gilroy's work has influenced scholarship in various disciplines, stimulating new ways of interpreting the interconnected cultures of ostensibly differing people groups. He has also garnered criticism, however, for not historically contextualizing slavery and for limiting his focus to North America—a critique to which Bénédicte Ledent and Pilar Cuder-Domínguez's *New Perspectives on the Black Atlanti*c responded in part by expanding their analysis to European connections.[112] In so doing, Ledent and Cuder-Domínguez's anthology encouraged analysis of how enslaved and emigrated Africans "dramatically increase[ed] the diversity of racial, religious and cultural backgrounds on the old continent."[113] Since Ledent and Cuder-Domínguez's 2012 work, scholars have continued to identify new nodal points within the historical network of African cultural contacts, thereby adding an array of hues to Gilroy's *Black Atlantic*.[114]

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[109] Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*, 31.
[110] Ibid., 2.
[111] Ibid., 29
[112] Bénédicte Ledent and Pilar Cuder-Domínguez, *New Perspectives on the Black Atlantic: Definitions, Readings, Practices, Dialogues* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2012).
[113] Ledent and Cuder-Domínguez, *New Perspectives on the Black Atlantic*, 11.
[114] For recent instances, see: Kristina Wirtz, *Performing Afro-Cuba: Image, Voice, Spectacle in the Making of Race and History* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Jean Muteba Rahier, *Blackness in the Andes: Ethnographic Vignettes of Cultural Politics in the Time of Multiculturalism* (New

Applying Gilroy's "Black Atlantic" framework to the specific intersection of African and Irish Diasporas, Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd's *The Black and Green Atlantic* identifies "points of contact, overlap and cooperation—as well as competition and exploitation across the Atlantic."[115] O'Neill and Lloyd's 2009 text remedied a lag in Irish studies to examine the crosscurrents between the literatures and histories of the Irish and African communities in the U.S., Caribbean islands, and other overlapping locales. Furthermore, it raised uncomfortable and complex questions regarding the Irish diaspora's complicity in African American oppression, ranging from 19th century slavery to the 20th century fire hoses of Birmingham's Eugene "Bull" Connor. Why, O'Neill and Lloyd ask, "did a people so versed in the techniques and effects of racial oppression—for there is no doubt that British colonialism understood the Irish as racially inferior and that those attitudes transferred throughout the British settler colonies—not show greater solidarity with their fellow oppressed?"[116]

Ireland's relationship with both the African American community and slavery in general has a long and complex history. As Nini Rodgers's *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: 1612-1865* points out, "The seventeenth-century flow of indentured labourers to the Caribbean surfaces in the memory that Cromwell transported Irish men and women to

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York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Sonia Song-Ha Lee, *Building a Latin Civil Rights Movement: Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and the Pursuit of Racial Justice in New York City* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[115] Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd, Introduction to *The Black and Green Atlantic: Cross Currents of the African and Irish Diaspora*, eds. Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), xvi.

[116] O'Neill and Lloyd, Introduction to *The Black and Green Atlantic*, xvii. Despite its impact on Irish studies, O'Neill and Lloyd's work was not the first to comment on the complex historical relationship between Irish immigrants and African Americans. Noel Ignatiev's seminal 1995 *How the Irish Became White* and James O'Toole's 2002 study of the Irish-African Healy family in *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920*, for instance, both provide early instances of unpacking the historical relationship between the two communities. See, Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (Madison Ave, NY: Routledge, 2008); James O'Toole, *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002).

the West Indies as slaves."[117] Even preceding Cromwell's exile of Irish men and women, the anti-slavery strand in Ireland purportedly extended back as far as the Council of Armagh in 1171, "which prohibited Irish trading in English slaves and stressing the duty of every Irishman to remain true to this heritage."[118]

The abolitionist tradition appears to have continued for centuries, as evidenced within a 1840s issue of the *Irish Penny Journal.* Published just five years before the catastrophic potato famine caused a mass exodus to America, the periodical's tongue-and-cheek anti-slavery piece entitled, "The Comparative Value of Black Boys in American and Ireland," facetiously implored the Irish in America to "import our black boys" who "generally are believed to be of the true Caucasian breed—the descendants of Japhet; and their blackness is on the outer surface of the skin, and may, though we believe with difficulty, be removed."[119] The article goes on to remind readers that the *Journal* had "often lamented the abject condition and sufferings of our black urchins, and have come to the resolution never to assist in encouraging their degradation, but on the contrary to do everything in our power to oppose it." A previous *Journal* article entitled "Horrors of the Slave Trade," had born out this editorial stance, informing its readership of the murder of hundreds of slaves aboard a Spanish brig captured by the Royal Navy."[120] Of course, the *Journal* provides just one Irish perspective of many at the time and researchers should

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[117] Nini Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery: 1612-1865* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 2.
[118] Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery, and Anti-Slavery*, 259.
[119] *The Irish Penny Journal: Containing Original Contributions by Several of the Most Eminent Irish Writers 1840-41* (Dublin: Gunn and Cameron, 1841) 1.23 (December 5, 1840), 181-182.
[120] *The Irish Penny Journal* 1.22 (November 28, 1840), 176

temper its editorial stance with Kieran Quinlan's reminder of Civil War-era pro-slavery discourses and Southern sympathies among the Irish.[121]

Regardless of the somewhat ambiguous Irish stance on the antebellum slave trade, the concept of slavery proved a powerful symbol within Irish nationalist discourse. The great Irish statesman Daniel O'Connell, for instance, reproved pro-slavery Irish-Americans saying, "It was not in Ireland that you learned this cruelty."[122] Furthermore, Lee M. Jenkins's, "Beyond the Pale: Green, Black, and Cork," reveals how the Irish press employed the concept of enslavement and emancipation during the mid-nineteenth century. In discussing the ex-slave and social reformer Frederick Douglass' visit to Ireland in 1845, Jenkins observes how the Irish press regularly made analogies between slavery and Irish colonization.[123] As Jenkins goes on to explain, a gulf began to emerge between Ireland and its American diaspora who had fled the famine: "If nationalists in Ireland often appropriated the discourse of slavery to define their own colonial dilemma, Irish-Americans were downright hostile to attempts on the part of abolitionists to make common cause between the American slave and the Irish immigrant."[124]

Borrowing Noel Ignatiev's famous phrasing from *How the Irish Became White*, Jenkins explains how for Irish trying to solidify their place within a developing America, "making common cause with the black slave would not help the Irish become white."[125] Becoming socially acceptable proved a pressing concern for Irish immigrants in America

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[121] Kieran Quinlin, *Strange Kin: Ireland and the American South* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State UP, 2005); Lee Jenkins makes a similar observation regarding the Confederate flags that some County Cork supporters wave at Gaelic Games; Lee M. Jenkins, "Beyond the Pale: Green and Black and Cork," in Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd, eds, *The Black and Green Atlantic: Cross Currents of the African and Irish Diasporas* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 172.
[122] qtd. in Quinlin, *Strange Kin*, 46.
[123] Jenkins, "Beyond the Pale," 173.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 174.

at the time. Brian Dooley's *Black and Green* explains how the British transplanted a sense of racial superiority in America, wherein "newly-arrived Irish immigrants, although not slaves, were often regarded as belonging to the same social, if not genetic, category as black Americans."[126]

An earlier wave of Irish immigrants to America during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also endured a tenuous social standing. Ulster Presbyterians, who self-identified as Irish though neither Catholic nor Gaelic speaking, settled first in Pennsylvania before continued migrations further South. One critical feature the Ulster Presbyterians would share with the later, Catholic emigration wave was a strategic employment of their racial status. As Nini Rodgers's article, "Green Presbyterians, Black Irish and Some Literary Consequences," relates

> Yet emigrants from Ireland, whether descended from native Irish or planter stock, had much in common; their enthusiasm for communal protest, religion, and politics followed them across the Atlantic. Both groups were accepted as useful protectors of their new land; frontier farmers, Indian fighters, slave overseers, soldiers, policemen, and firefighters. Both regarded the color line as something that secured their position as citizens. The Black Atlantic predated and helped to shape the Green Atlantic.[127]

Rodgers further explains how Ulster Presbyterians would later adopt the name Scotch-Irish as a way to differentiate themselves from the famine-era Irish emigrants, and, in so doing, "did Ireland replant its ethnic and religious divisions in the USA."[128]

Of course, as Cheryl Temple Herr and Kieran Quinlin warn in their comparative analyses of Ireland and the American Midwest and South, respectively, researchers must

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[126] Brian Dooley, *Black and Green: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland and Black America* (Chicago, IL: Pluto Press, 1998), 2.
[127] Nini Rodgers, "Green Presbyterians, Black Irish and Some Literary Consequences," in Peter D. O'Neill and David Lloyd, eds, *The Black and Green Atlantic: Cross Currents of the African and Irish Diasporas* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 46.
[128] Rodgers, "Green Presbyterians, Black Irish," 38.

avoid the temptation of static or essentialist national comparisons.[129] The stereotypes historically foisted upon Southerners and Irish—fiercely religious, romantic, literary, ignorant, and poor, to name just a few—are rooted within each region's relationship with its dominant neighbor. As Quinlin writes, "For a multitude of reasons, then, Ireland within the United Kingdom and the South within the United States have stood out as places of cultural difference, peculiarity, potential, and active rebelliousness, not infrequently too as benighted and impoverished departures from the metropolitan, and supposedly more civilized norm."[130] Their shared cultures—both perceived and real—offered fodder for those either seeking either to denigrate or romanticize one or both of the regions. For instances of the latter, the great Irish short story writer, Seán O'Faoláin fondly remarked that Southerners and Irishmen shared, among other things, "the same vanity of the old race; the same gnawing sense of defeat; the same capacity for intense hatred;" not for nothing, Quinlin relates, did the O'Haras of *Gone with the Wind* name their Southern plantation Tara, wherein nostalgia for a romanticized Ireland foreshadowed the loss of an even more romanticized South. [131]

Historical comparisons between Ireland and the American South tend to emphasize how both cultures share a traditional emphasis on religious beliefs and practices.[132] Be it the Protestants of the first wave of Irish immigration, the Catholics of the second, or the multitude of Protestant denominations at the core of 19th and 20th century Southern culture, the South—like the Ireland from which a portion of its citizenry's ancestors

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[129] Cheryl Temple Herr, *Critical Regionalism and Cultural Studies: From Ireland to the American Midwes*t (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1996).
[130] Quinlin, *Strange Kin*, 140-141.
[131] Qtd. in Quinlin, *Strange Kin*, 186,
[132] For instance, see Quinlin, *Strange Kin*, and David T. Gleeson " 'To Live and Die [for] Dixie': Irish Civilians and the Confederate States of America," *Irish Studies Review* 18.2 (May 2010): 139-153.

came—has in popular culture been synonymous with a fierce religiosity. Quinlin places a particular emphasis on the social significance of spirituality within the South's African American community:

> Relatively dormant among most whites, both Irish and southern, by the mid-twentieth century, that long tradition of a coming together of religions and civic cause had been most potent in the southern black community […] which found its powerful inspiration and sustenance in the Christian churches and under the leadership of Baptist pastors.[133]

In Andrew Manis's biography of one of the South's most respected "civil rights preacher[s]", he explains how Fred Shuttlesworth presents an exemplary yet unique example of an activist preacher—such as Martin Luther King and Ralph David Abernathy—who "understood their activism as part of their responsibilities as Christian ministers in the African American community.[134]

Seeking to replicate the success of the American Movement, the Catholic, nationalist population of Northern Ireland in the 1960s drew on parallels between their own experiences and those of the oppressed peoples of America. Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh, Derry activist and author of *Ulster's White Negroes*, compares the Northern Ireland state's injustice towards Catholics to that of both "American Indians who were forced to stay in reservation upon [their] own stolen lands" and "the poor blacks of the US ghettos and those suffering under the cruel system of apartheid in racist South Africa."[135] Furthermore Bernadette Devlin's autobiography, *The Price of My Soul*, and The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association's [NICRA] "*We Shall Overcome:" The History of the Struggle for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland 1968-1978* recall how the singing of the

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[133] Quinlin, *Strange Kin*, 161.
[134] Andrew Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 3.
[135] Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh, *Ulster's White Negroes* (San Francisco: AK Press, 1994), 7,14.

negro spiritual, "We Shall Overcome," steeled protesters in the face of opposition on such occasions as the first NICRA civil rights march in August 1968.[136] In this respect, the movement in Northern Ireland cultivated the link between themselves and African American civil rights activists, drawing inspiration and tactics from the struggle across the Atlantic.

As scholars have noted, however, the movements also had critical differences. In 2009's *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, Richard English lists the key differences between civil rights in America and Northern Ireland:

> The 1960s civil rights movement in Northern Ireland did involve a conscious glance towards civil rights in the US. However, the two cases were very different. The discrimination experienced by the Northern Irish Catholic minority was milder than that known to US blacks. Moreover, the US civil rights movement did not involve a historic battle over the legitimacy or existence of the United States itself; the Northern Irish version clearly did involve precisely such a war over state legitimacy.[137]

Although I disagree with English's dismissal of the African American impact on the movement in Northern Ireland, his work provides a nice complement to both Patrick Reilly's case study of political systems in America and Northern Ireland and Frank Wright's 1988 comparative analysis of their differing political contexts.[138] Focusing specifically on differences between the British and U.S. governmental responses to civil rights, Wright relates how "the immediacy of the Republic [the Republic of Ireland]

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[136] Devlin, *The Price of My Soul*, 187; Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), *"We Shall Overcome"…. The History of the Struggle for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland 1968-1978* (Belfast: NICRA, 1978), http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/crights/nicra/nicra78.htm#contents

[137] Richard English, "The Interplay of Non-violent and Violent Action in Northern Ireland, 1967-72," in Adam Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash, eds., *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 86.

[138] Patrick Reilly, *Politics and Protest: How Political Systems Influenced the American and Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement* (Berlin: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller Aktiengesellschaft and Co, 2008); Frank Wright, *Northern Ireland: A Comparative Analysis* (Totowa, NJ: Gill and Macmillan, 1988).

enabled alienated Catholics to give up non-violent protest much more quickly" than African American activists following King's strategy of non-violence.[139]

Perhaps most compellingly, Oxford historian Simon Prince makes the case for the African American influence on Northern Ireland within the context of other synchronous global events. In his 2008 book, *Northern Ireland's '68: Civil Rights, Global Revolt and the Origins of the Troubles*, Prince analyzes Northern Ireland as a case study of the global revolutions underway in 1968.[140] In the following quotation, Prince responds to Roy Foster and other historians who have tended to examine Northern Irish political activity in a vacuum: "Northern Ireland was not under quarantine while the revolutionary contagion raged through the Western World."[141] Northern Ireland, therefore, was "different, but not exceptional" from relatively synchronous European protests in London, Berlin, and Paris, and other locations.[142] The American influence, however, came via television, providing activists in Northern Ireland with a model for how to attract media attention through non-violent antagonism of the police.

II.D. Disseminating Civil Rights

The links between the civil rights movements in Northern Ireland and America correspond to overarching patterns of cross-national diffusion, which sociologists such as Doug McAdam, Dieter Rucht, and Sidney Tarrow first identified in the 1990s. McAdam and

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[139] Wright, *Northern Ireland*, 211.
[140] Simon Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68: Civil Rights, Global Revolt, and the Origins of the Troubles* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007).
[141] Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68*, 155.
[142] Ibid., 6.

Rucht's seminal essay, "The Cross-National Diffusion of Movement Ideas," explains how social movements often draw on the ideas and tactics of their peers and predecessors: "Protest makers do not have to reinvent the wheel at each place and in each conflict […] they often find inspiration elsewhere in the ideas and tactics espoused and practiced by other activists."[143] Subsequent scholars further refined their description of the diffusion process within what is now commonly called "contentious politics." 2010's *The Diffusion of Social Movements* is representative of recent "contentious politics" scholarship, arguing "one of the central insights of this body of research is the multidimensionality of diffusion processes—a multidimensionality that reflects the plethora of actors, networks, and mechanisms, involved in the spread of social movements."[144]

The roots of contemporary civil rights movements extend back, as sociologist Sean Chabot explains, to Mohandas Gandhi in turn-of-the-century South Africa. In his 2012, *Transnational Roots of the Civil Rights Movement*, Chabot shows how Gandhi's ethic of nonviolent protest spread to America and was slowly adopted by the African American community over an extended period of time. Chabot stresses the importance of collective learning throughout the diffusion process as he charts "the rise *and* fall of transnational diffusion between the two social movements," which in America spanned from the 1920s to the "full implementation of the Gandhian repertoire in the late 1950s and early 1960s" prior to the Black Power Movement.[145] Of course, as has been previously discussed,

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[143] Doug McAdam and Dieter Rucht, "The Cross-National Diffusion of Movement Ideas," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (Jul., 1993), 58.
[144] Rebecca Kolins Givan, Kenneth M. Roberts, and Sarah A. Soule, *The Diffusion of Social Movements: Actors, Mechanisms, and Political Effects* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1.
[145] Sean Chabot, *Transnational Roots of the Civil Rights Movement: African American Explorations of the Gandhian Repertoire* (Lanham, MA: Lexington Books, 2012), 9.

Gandhi's principles and tactics were transplanted later to yet another part of the globe, Northern Ireland.

The transfer of civil rights strategies and tactics from America to Northern Ireland relied on what sociologist Sydney Tarrow calls a "mechanism." In his *Strangers at the Gates: Movements and States in Contentious Politics*, Tarrow defines "mechanism" as "a delimited class of changes that alter relations among specific sets of elements in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations."[146] Tarrow goes on to explicate the three basic types of mechanisms that trigger social and historical events: Dispositional, e.g. "the perception and attribution of opportunity or threat;" Environmental, e.g. "population growth or resource depletion;" and relational, e.g. "the brokerage of a coalition among actors with no previous contact by a third actor who has contact with both."[147] Tarrow's work has been widely influential, informing scholars such as Chabot who study the transference of social activism. In particular, Chabot applies Tarrow's typologies to the transnational context, wherein "receivers imitate transmitters' ideas and practices, adopting them to initiate 'non-localized' protest action in their own context" in a process Tarrow terms, "*emulation*."[148]

In the diffusion of the American civil rights movement to Northern Ireland, mass media—particularly television broadcasts—provided the primary means of conveyance. Television broadcasts of non-violent protesters facing down a draconian police response, brought, in the words of Aniko Bodroghkozy's *Equal Time*, "black people, imaginatively

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[146] Sydney Tarrow, *Strangers at the Gates: Movements and States in Contentious Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 23.
[147] Ibid., 23.
[148] Ibid., 3-4.

at least, into white people's living rooms."[149] Bodroghkozy's work challenges past scholarship on the media's role within the civil rights movement, which he succinctly describes in the following overview:

> Conventional wisdom has it that network television, at least in its news divisions, functioned as an 'instrument of the revolution' wielded by civil rights activists to broadcast their messages, demands, and actions to a sympathetic, nationwide audience. Civil rights histories often note the crucial presence of television cameras with the assumption that the resulting news reports carried unmediated discourses and imagery serving the political goals of the movement. An accompanying assumption is that TV viewers received and decoded the televised material in the appropriate way, leading the American public to embrace those movement goals.[150]

Scholars took their lead from the civil rights leaders themselves, Bodroghkozy argues, by recognizing the potency of televised images of police brutality. Maurice Berger's *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights* complements Bodroghkozy's work by examining how both the civil rights movement and their enemies operationalized a host of media types in the war for public opinion.[151] Berger's analysis notes that both sets of leaders "were often exceptionally gifted image-makers" who skillfully navigated "the complex relationship between innovative technologies for representing the world and a society eager for new ways of seeing."[152]

Televised images of the 1960s civil rights movement not only resonated at home but were also beamed across the Atlantic, thus influencing a like-minded movement within a completely different sociopolitical context. Thanks in large part to television's increasing pervasiveness at the time, the ideologies and tactics of social movements could

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[149] Aniko Bodroghkozy, *Equal Time: Television and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 3.
[150] Bodroghkozy, *Equal Time*, 3.
[151] Maurice Berger, *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).
[152] Ibid., 9.

cross national boundaries with unprecedented rapidity and impact. By the early to mid 1960s television sets had become much more commonplace in Northern Ireland, with television licenses increasing from 10,000 in 1954 to 194,000 in 1962.[153] Activists in Northern Ireland, as Dooley explains, learned about and adopted the tactics and techniques of non-violent protest almost exclusively from the regularly televised reports of American civil rights. For example, Dooley quotes Bernadette Devlin's remarks on how the movement in Northern Ireland emulated those televised images: "We saw the civil rights [protests] in America and they sat down, and so did we, but they didn't show you on the television all the debate and planning and organizing of the non-violent approach, [so] we didn't do any of it."[154]

Dooley is not alone in observing both the impact and inevitable limitations of a movement diffused via television. Quinlin, for instance, notes how "Ulster Catholics didn't always understand what was going on in the South." Prince seconds Quinlin's assessment by remarking, "what interested those watching on their televisions in Northern Ireland was not why King embarked upon his last campaign but how he and his successors planned to gain mass support and the interest of the media."[155] While Quinlin, Prince, and Dooley stress the diffusion of non-violent strategies and methods, Bonnye Stuart's 2014 article, "From Selma, Alabama, to Derry, Northern Ireland: Media Images and their Influence on Civil Rights Demonstrations," reminds us that televised activism also conveys the movement's abstract spirit and conviction. As Stuart writes, "what they [Northern Irish activists] saw on their televisions in their homes and their neighbors'

[153] Dooley, *Black and Green*, 28.
[154] Qtd. in Dooley, *Black and Green*, 108.
[155] Quinlin, *Strange Kin*, 161 and Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68*, 120.

homes gave them the information they needed, the incentive to repeat what they had seen and the conviction that they, too, could win in the end."[156]

Following initial failures in emulating American activism, the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland began to sway public opinion through their own televised juxtaposition of non-violent tactics and state-sanctioned brutality.[157] Both Devlin's and Ó Dochartaigh's memoirs, for instance, stress the importance of harnessing what Marshall McLuhan described as the participatory and "unifying medium" of television.[158] Furthermore, Max Hastings, a British journalist, wrote in his 1970 history of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, "without the media, there is no shadow of doubt that the Catholic cause could never have triumphed either as speedily or as completely as it did."[159] Ó Dochartaigh's account of a televised assault on protesters vividly portrays what Richard English describes as furthering a "delegitimiz[ation]" of the current powers in Northern Ireland:[160]

> The civil rights cause that afternoon attracted the missing ingredient that was to turn our agitation into a mass movement literally overnight. This ingredient was the power of modern modes of communication, which brought the thud of the batons, the force of the water-cannon, the cries of the people, and the blood on the tarmac in to the very living rooms of millions.[161]

Dermot Healy's 1995 award-winning novel, *A Goat's Song,* offers complimentary insight into the power of television through the eyes of a Belfast policeman realizing both his own capacity for violence and television's ability to evoke outrage and action: "The crowd in

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[156] Bonnye Stuart, "From Selma, Alabama, to Derry, Northern Ireland: Media Images and their Influence on Civil Rights Demonstrations," *Mass Communication and Journalism* 4.6 (2014), 6.
[157] For an account of the difficulties of implementing the American strategy of non-violence in Northern Ireland, see Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68*, 114-125.
[158] Qtd. in Stuart, "From Selma, Alabama, to Derry, Northern Ireland," 7.
[159] Max Hastings, *Barricades in Belfast: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1970), 201.
[160] English, "The Interplay of Non-violent and Violent Action in Northern Ireland, 1967-72," 80.
[161] Ó Dochartaigh, *Ulster's White Negroes*, 26.

the bar shouted 'bastards.' On the TV the old policeman had found his hat. As he put it on, he looked round for someone else to hit […] Then, wild-eyed and wielding a baton he stared remorselessly straight at the lens. Jonathan Adams had become a witness to himself […] 'Bastards,' said someone."[162]

The Unionist perception of televised civil rights activism, political scientist Niall Ó Dochartaigh writes, was resentment towards "the contribution which the media had made to the cause of 'civil rights' by the simple fact of reporting it. Hostility to the media was not due to the tone of media coverage alone but to the very fact of media coverage of Catholic grievances."[163] In a similar vein of research, Queens University sociologist, Mike Tomlinson, analyzed perceptions of Northern Irish media coverage within England in his 1980 co-written history, *Northern Ireland Between Civil Rights and Civil War*. Tomlinson notes how the press had initially only given minimal coverage to the political turmoil in Northern Ireland, thereby leaving the British public unprepared for the violence later televised. As public awareness grew, the BBC and British press later manipulated coverage by shifting their editorial stance from ambiguous "to one which integrated the 'Irish insurrection' into 'a cocktail of dangerous illegitimacy' threatening the British state from all sides."[164]

Tantalizingly, Devlin's memoir hints that the diffusion of civil rights strategies continued after Northern Ireland's movement, with "Derry suddenly [finding] itself the center of revolutionary Europe, setting a pattern that revolutionaries the world over will

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[162] Dermot Healy, *A Goat's Song* (New York: Viking, 1995), 121. Other Northern Irish literature addressing the Troubles, includes Bernard McLaverty, *Cal* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1983); Glenn Patterson, *The International* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 2008); Eoin MacNamee, *Resurrection Man* (London: Faber & Faber, 2004); Colum McCann, *Everything in this Country Must* (New York: Picador, 2000).
[163] Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights to Armalites*, 74.
[164] Mike Tomlinson, "Reforming Repression," in Liam O'Dowd, Bill Rolston, and Mike Tomlinson, eds., *Northern Ireland Between Civil Rights and Civil War* (London: CSE Books, 1980), 181.

never forget. It was very interesting to note that in Czechoslovakia in August 1969 they followed our pattern, perhaps unconsciously."[165] Devlin's quotation speaks both to the difficulty of pinpointing instances of diffusion and to the mutability of social movements particular to a unique region and political context. As Given and her co-editors explain in the introduction to *The Diffusion of Social Movements*, "Indeed, diffusion often plays a central role in shifting the scope and scale of contentious politics. It can transform a local protest into a national movement, or a national movement into a transnational one."[166] As I will discuss in later sections, the revolutionary sparks in Johannesburg, Birmingham, and Derry were neither isolated nor ever extinguished.

II.E. Archiving Civil Rights in the American South

As early as the 19th century, African American communities began to chronicle their unique histories and achievements as a means to combat prevalent historical silences and systemic racism. As Charles Wesley's 1952 article on "racial historical societies" in *The Journal of Negro History* relates, multiple racial groups in America—such as the Jewish and Irish communities—that had been marginalized by America's dominant "Anglo-Saxon" narrative saw the establishment of their own historical societies as an opportunity "to bring a sense of pride and an appreciative recognition of the historical contributions of their people to the life of the nation and the American heritage."[167] In regards to the

[165] Devlin, *The Price of My Soul*, 222.
[166] Givan, Roberts, and Soule, *The Diffusion of Social Movements*, 13.
[167] Charles Wesley, "Racial Historical Societies and the American Heritage," *The Journal of Negro History* 37, no. 1 (Jan., 1952), 32.

African American community, Wesley reveals that the 1873 National Equal Rights Convention provided an opportunity to create an association for the collection of "all such facts, historical and statistical, in relation to the Negro race in America."[168] The next milestone occurred with the organization of the American Negro Historical Society in 1892, wherein, Wesley writes, "the ultimate purpose of the society was to secure 'a permanent home for its meetings and the safe deposit of its effects.'"[169] Wesley's account concludes by summarizing how historical societies have been a boon to the African American community: "All of these societies have investigated, published and used the facts and lesson of history to bring a sense of pride and an appreciative recognition of the historical contributions of their people to the life of the nation and the American heritage."[170]

Wesley's article exemplifies the *Journal of Negro History's* trailblazing commitment to counter racism and ignorance through historical scholarship.[171] This pioneering journal, founded by Carter Woodson in 1916, represented a more sophisticated, scientific approach to history.[172] Historian Fitzhugh Brundage describes how Woodson

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[168] Wesley, "Racial Historical Societies," 27.
[169] Ibid., 28.
[170] Ibid., 33.
[171] Writing to commemorate the Journal's fiftieth anniversary in 1966, editor William M. Brewer discusses its founding *raison d'être*: "Reconstruction historians and Southern politicians repudiated the Civil War Amendments to the U.S. Constitution while segregation and disfranchisement restored the essence of slavery which was to last for a century! Woodson [the Journal's founder and longtime editor] saw more clearly than anyone of record that unless the records of Negroes were found and published, the Negro would become increasingly, after the 'nadir-regime,' a negligible factor in the history and thought of the world!" William M. Brewer, "The Fiftieth Anniversary of the *Journal of Negro History*," *Journal of Negro History* 51.2 (April, 1966),:61.
[172] Luther P. Jackson's 1940 retrospective of the Journal's first twenty-five years offers the following description of Woodson, "*The Journal of Negro History* is unique among historical magazines in that it has had only one editor—Carter G. Woodson. He wrote the first article in the first issue; he financed the first issues; he is with us today. Efforts were made by certain men to establish a magazine and promote a history association long before this editor was born [...] but Woodson has been the first man of his race in this country to succeed. The present editor has carried an unusual load because in the early days he was about the only Negro scholar in history trained to perform this task." Luther P.

and his contemporaries shifted the way African American historians understood and portrayed their unique history:

> The 'new' black history, in contrast, was self-consciously scholarly and its practitioners had no patience for 'the spell-binding orator who comes along to entertain the public.' Black historians instead adopted a dispassionate academic tone that reflected their conviction that an accumulation of historical 'facts' would sweep aside historical falsehoods.[173]

The *Journal* continued to hone this "'new' black history" over the subsequent decades and into the civil rights movement. Political scientist and educational pioneer, Samuel DuBois Cook's 1960 article, for instance, argues that a truer, more tragic telling of black history might ameliorate the "large measure of slavery in his [the Negro's] freedom," since the emancipation proclamation.[174] Furthering "a tragic conception of Negro history," Cook explains, will accomplish three things: render the community's "desolation and misery more intelligible," make its struggles "ethically significant," and give it a place within "human history in general."[175] Wesley and Cook's accounts exemplify the *Journal's* commitment to history, though tragic and at times oppressive, as a powerful force that "should contribute to the liberation of the mind and will."[176]

Recent qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods studies also have affirmed the social impact of preserving and communicating African American history. Political scientist Richard Couto's analysis of narratives passed from generation to generation in local African American communities shows how "narratives provide deep and lasting insights into the need and methods of change to individuals who lead social movements or

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Jackson, "The First Twenty-Five Volumes of *The Journal of Negro History* Digested," *The Journal of Negro History* 25.4 (Oct., 1940): 439.

[173] Fitzhugh Brundage, *Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 153.

[174] Samuel Du Bois Cook, "A Tragic Conception of Negro History," *The Journal of Negro History* 45, No. 4 (Oct., 1960), 224.

[175] Cook, "A Tragic Conception of Negro History," 237-238.

[176] Ibid., 239.

support them despite risks to themselves."[177] Building on the work of Couto and others, Frederick Harris, political scientist and Director of the Center on African American Politics and Society at Columbia University, explores "the links between collective memory and collective action" in his 2008 study of the civil rights movement.[178] In Harris's mixed methods analysis, he "specifies a framework to illustrate how events are transformed into collective memories, how collective memories are then incorporated into a group's repertoire of memories, and how collective memories may be later employed for collective action as time passes from the initial event."[179] Commemorations, artifacts, and other methods of memorialization preserve these collective memories over time, so that they might "publicly resurface as political actors re-appropriate it to build lines of solidarity and/or forge strategies for collective action."[180]

Larry J. Griffin and Kenneth A. Bollen's 2009 article, "What Do These memories Do? Civil Rights Remembrance and Racial Attitudes," added another dimension to scholarship on the intersection of memory and activism.[181] Employing quantitative methods, Griffin and Bollen analyzed interviews from the 1993 *General Social Survey* to study how recollecting civil rights both reflected and affected racial opinions and policies. Though unique in correlating historical memories with present-day perceptions, Griffin and Bollen draw on earlier memory studies scholarship that shifted conceptions of memory from "a passive thing people possess to an active force they employ."[182] Griffin

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[177] Richard A. Couto, "Narrative, Free Space, and Political leadership in Social Movements," *The Journal of Politics* 55, no. 1 (Feb., 1993), 61.
[178] Frederick C. Harris, "It Takes a Tragedy to Arouse Them: Collective Memory and Collective Action during the Civil Rights Movement," *Social Movement Studies* 5, no. 1 (May 2006): 19-43.
[179] Harris, "It Takes a Tragedy to Arouse Them," 21.
[180] Ibid., 38.
[181] Larry J. Griffin and Kenneth A. Bollen, "What Do These Memories Do? Civil Rights Remembrance and Racial Attitudes," *American Sociological Review* 74, no. 4 (Aug., 2009): 594-614.
[182] Griffin and Bollen, "What Do These Memories Do?" 600.

and Bollen go on to explore the present-day ramifications of mobilizing history, concluding that it "permits collectivities and individuals to usefully (if not exclusively) frame the country's present-day racial rights and wrongs in terms of the black freedom struggle in the 1950s and 1960s."[183]

Statues, parades, and public commemorations also have served to perpetuate collective memories. Fitzhugh Brundage's 2005 text, *Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* has served as a scholarly touchstone on the subject, wherein, he identifies and evaluates physical spaces that acted as hubs of collective memory for both the African American and segregationist communities in the South.[184] The book focuses particularly on the African American colleges, front porches, and even street corners, wherein "blacks nurtured their sense of community and were in the presence of their shared history."[185] In fact, Brundage relates, "in one of the most profound ironies of the Jim Crow era, blacks used state and private resources to turn schools into essential sites of collective memory that performed a role comparable to that of museum, archives, and other memory theaters in the white community."[186] These spaces of remembrance countered Southern institutions that perpetuated a systemic and pernicious "Lost Cause" version of history.

Archives have proven a contested and vital space in relation to civil rights, with the tragic legacy of perpetuating the myth of the "Lost Cause" within the Jim Crow South. As Richard Cox describes in relation to state archives: "Trying to direct the archival enterprise in a period of social unrest is nothing new; the pioneering Southern state archives were part of an effort to re-establish a Southern white hegemony, requiring the

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[183] Ibid.
[184] Fitzhugh Brundage, *Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).
[185] Brundage, *Southern Past*, 229.
[186] Ibid., 140.

re-invention of the past among other things."[187] Subsequent archival scholarship has tended to follow Cox's lead by focusing, at least in part, on the role of Southern archives in perpetuating Jim Crow power structures.[188] Patricia Galloway's examination of the early history of the Mississippi state archive, for instance offers a case study of a southern state's propagation of the myth of the "Lost Cause."[189] Acting in the wake of Alabama's creation of a state archive as "monument to the lost cause of the Confederacy," Mississippi's state archives, and its first archivist Dunbar Rowland, "gave no thought whatever to providing assistance to African-American scholars" and sought collections "that tended to support his own views and that looked determinedly backward to a romanticized Lost Cause of the Confederacy."[190] Alex H. Poole's 2014 article, "The Strange Career of Jim Crow Archives: Race, Space, and History in the Mid-Twentieth-Century American South," reinforces and expands on many of the points raised earlier by Cox and Galloway.[191] Poole's article recounts how archivists in the Jim Crow South often sequestered African American scholars from other users, as well as denied them access to the building's facilities while researching materials. As Poole writes, "second-class citizenship thrived in the archives."[192]

Perhaps in reaction to its own historical record, ameliorating racial disparities in the archive—both in terms of its collections and employment—has recently become a

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[187] Richard J. Cox, *Closing an Era: Historical Perspectives on Modern Archives & Records Management* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2000), 106.
[188] See, for instance, Patricia Galloway, "Archives, Power, and History: Dunbar Rowland and the Beginning of the State Archives of Mississippi (1902-1936)," *The American Archivist* 69 (Spring/Summer 2006): 79-116 and Rabia Gibbs, "The Heart of the Matter: The Developmental History of African American Archives," *The American Archivist* 75 (Spring/Summer 2012): 195-204.
[189] Patricia Galloway, "Archives, Power, and History: Dunbar Rowland and the Beginning of the State Archives of Mississippi (1902-1936)," *The American Archivist* 69 (Spring/Summer 2006): 79-116.
[190] Galloway, "Archives, Power, and History," 82, 115.
[191] Alex H. Poole, "The Strange Career of Jim Crow Archives: Race, Space, and History in the Mid-Twentieth-Century American South," *The American Archivist* 77, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2014): 23-63.
[192] Poole, "The Strange Career of Jim Crow Archives," 26.

central focus of the Society of American Archivists (SAA). In her 2008 presidential address, Elizabeth W. Adkins reminded its members of how the SAA "has been working to address diversity concerns for more than thirty-five years, sometimes effectively and sometimes not so effectively."[193] Writing in a 2014 issue of *Archival Science*, Dominique Daniel argues that during those "thirty-five years," archives both shaped and were shaped by a growing recognition of American diversity.[194] Moving beyond what Rudolph Vecoli termed the "cultural myopia" of archives prior to 1969, Daniel describes the shift in archival practices:

> By contesting the choices made theretofore by libraries and archives, social historians opened the door to the questioning of those institutions' power of 'life and death' over the historical record—the power to determine what future generations will be able to know of the past. More responsibility was therefore placed on archival institutions and archivists to articulate the rationale for their collection development strategies and to demonstrate the value of their practices and collections.[195]

Rabia Gibbs's "The Heart of the Matter: The Developmental History of African American Archives" argues that despite attempts to diversify archival offerings, archivists still tend to "characterize and assess minority collections based on our profession's narrow perspective of diversity objectives, not on the documentation priorities of the originating community that usually have designated social and political purposes."[196] Furthermore, Gibbs's article draws attention to the complex dynamics *within* minority communities, whose potential schisms and biases might lead to silencing dimensions of their own communities. Overall the literature portrays an archival trend of increased racial

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[193] Elizabeth W. Adkins, "One Journey Toward Diversity—and a call to (More) Action," *The American Archivist* 71, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2008), 22.
[194] Dominique Daniel, "Archival Representations of Immigration and Ethnicity in North American History: From the Ethnicization of Archives to the Archivization of Ethnicity," *Archival Science* 14 (2014): 169-203.
[195] Daniel, "Archival Representation of Immigration and Ethnicity in North American History," 178.
[196] Gibbs, "The Heart of the Matter" 196.

sensitivity and inclusiveness while still acknowledging that much work obviously remains to be done.

II.F. Archiving Civil Rights in Northern Ireland

Civil rights collections in Northern Ireland are typically found in what could be categorized as two types of archives: traditional archives—such as Belfast's Linen Hall Library or the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI)—and what sociologists Patricia Lundy and Mark McGovern term a 'patchwork of disparate truth and justice and oral history projects taking place in many (mostly nationalist) communities through the North.'[197] The patchwork includes community archival projects such as the Ardoyne Commemoration Project and the Cost of the Troubles Survey—a study where researchers interviewed a cross-section of the population affected by the Troubles and discovered that 'people wanted to talk, to tell us about their experiences and the effects their experiences had on them.'[198] Other literature documenting these endeavors focuses on the therapeutic benefits of archives, theatre, and filmmaking in Northern Ireland. For instance, Cahal McLaughlin's *Recording Memories from Political Violence* recounts his work "describing and analyzing the use of documentary filmmaking in the recording of trauma memories from political conflict, with particular emphasis on Northern Ireland."[199] By drawing on

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[197] Lundy, Patricia and Mark McGovern. ' "You Understand Again." Testimony and Post-Conflict Transition in the North of Ireland.' In *The Oral History Reader*, 2nd Ed, edited by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, 531-537 (New York: Routledge, 2006), 534.
[198] Smyth, Marie and Marie Therese Fay, eds. *Personal Accounts from Northern Ireland's Troubles.* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 3.
[199] McLaughlin, Cahal. *Recording Memories from Political Violence: A Film-Maker's Journey.* (Chicago: Intellect, University of Chicago Press, 2010), 17.

studies both internal and external to the archives-specific literature, a somewhat comprehensive view of efforts to understand and archive the civil rights movement—and the overarching conflict known as the Troubles (1968-1998)—begins to materialize.

In many respects, the historical civil rights movement in Northern Ireland—and its subsequent archiving—remains entangled within efforts to reconcile and memorialize the bloody history of the Troubles. Patrick Pinkerton's "Resisting Memory: The Politics of Memorialisation in Post-conflict Northern Ireland" provides insightful analysis of the fraught, political quagmire that is memorialization in post-conflict Northern Ireland. Using an oft-vandalized memorial to two men killed by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) in 1970 as his case study, Pinkerton argues that the memorial serves as a "wider cultural movement designed to counter the republican version of history, and as such plays a role in the cycles of claim and counter-claim that constitute inter-community debate over the past in Northern Ireland."[200] According to Pinkerton, both those who memorialize their community's version of history and those who subsequently vandalize in opposition simply "replicate patterns of division."[201] In this respect, Pinkerton echoes Nicholas Allen and Aaron Kelly's introduction to *The Cities of Belfast*, which reminds its readers that both "Irish nationalism and unionism are shared attempts to obscure the full historical and social complexity of Belfast and this island."[202] Ultimately, Pinkerton argues for activists to distance themselves from ignorance and partisanship through commemorations that "deconstruct the assumed links between history and memory,

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[200] Patrick Pinkerton, "Resisting Memory: The Politics of Memorialisation in Post-conflict Northern Ireland," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 14 (2012)): 145

[201] Pinkerton, "Resisting Memory," 148.

[202] Nicholas Allen and Aaron Kelly, "Introduction," *The Cities of Belfast*, eds. Nicholas Allen and Aaron Kelly (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 17.

explode the concept of memory as a reflection of the past, and work to reveal the inherent undecidability of all assertions of memory in the present."[203]

Efforts to memorialize the Troubles have by in large corresponded with a global imperative to revisit past traumas. Brandon Hamber, University of Ulster professor and Director of INCORE (International Conflict Research Institute), examines the particular international phenomenon of what he terms "conflict museums"—"permanent sites of conservation and exhibition that focus on the legacy of political violence."[204] For Hamber, the *raison dêtre* for conflict museums is not the past but the future; the growth of conflict museums, Hamber argues, "represents a growth in the modernist belief that learning about past atrocity is an antidote to future violence."[205] Education, therefore, plays a vital role in these museums, wherein past horrors are exhibited with the hope that "lessons can be drawn and applied to contemporary problems such as building democracy, or challenging all forms of xenophobia and racism wherever they may occur."[206] In many respect, Hamber's conclusion parallels the archival scholarship that I discuss in later sections by cautioning that sites of memory are "never a-historical and neutral venues; they are an active part of the postconflict landscape."[207]

In a specifically Northern Irish instance of a conflict museum/community archive, Elizabeth Crooke focuses on how one site, The Museum of Free Derry: The National Civil Rights Archive, exhibits the everyday materials of conflict. Crooke's piece advocates the importance of material cultural studies by implying a more sanguine view than Hamber of

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[203] Pinkerton, "Resisting Memory," 149.
[204] Brandon Hamber, "Conflict Museums, Nostalgia, and Dreaming of Never Again," *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 18.3 (2012): 269.
[205] Hamber, "Conflict Museums," 270.
[206] Ibid., 271.
[207] Ibid., 279.

the societal importance of exhibiting conflict materials: "By such means, we can better understand how, at times of trauma, and later as a means of remembrance and commemoration, we use objects to understand the past, make sense of our present and create links to the future."[208] Material objects, therefore, play a vital role within societies such as Northern Ireland that are transitioning from conflict by providing the stuff of reconciliation.

Records, both as material and informational objects, are fundamental to the interplay of remembrance and reconciliation. The story of recordkeeping in Northern Ireland naturally begins with the country's creation during the partition of 1921, which, as a result, led to the founding of the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI) in Belfast. Like the new country itself, PRONI's initial challenge lay in navigating the aftermath of the Irish Civil War. As Kenneth Darwin, Deputy Keeper of the Records of Northern Ireland, relates, "The destruction of the Irish Public Record Office in 1922 however led the Record Office in Belfast to regard, as prime function, not only the collection of copies of destroyed public records relating to Northern Ireland but also the collection of archives which would in some way supplement and substitute for the destroyed public records."[209] The association between Northern Irish recordkeeping and armed conflict would continue into the 1970s, even when, as Gerry Slater of PRONI reminds us, the connection proved erroneous:

> Some sensitive material slipped through the net and gained temporary publicity. Predictably, granted the political circumstances of Northern Ireland, one or two commentators portrayed the Record Office as involved in some kind of cover up

[208] Crooke, "The Material Culture of Conflict," 27.
[209] Kenneth Darwin, "The Irish Record Situation," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 2.8 (1960), 364-365. PRONI's Gerry Slater also writes about the origins of Northern Irish recordkeeping in G. Slater, "The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and records management in the Northern Ireland Civil Service," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 11.1-2 (1990): 52-59.

> […] the simple truth was that mistakes, of a kind not unheard-of elsewhere, had been made.[210]

Echoing both Hamber and the archival scholarship that will be discussed in later sections, however, Slater goes on to reflect on his inability as an archivist to disassociate himself from the rising violence of the Troubles by "hiding behind the release of official archives as somehow providing the final truth."[211]

Writing on the "archiving of contentious material as a 'political' activity", Dirk Schubotz, Martin Melaugh, and Peter McLoughlin reflect on their collective experience archiving qualitative data within a Northern Ireland emerging from conflict.[212] The article focused particularly on University of Ulster's Conflict Archive on the Internet (CAIN), which offers a wide range of materials concerning the Troubles, as well as a diverse collection in partnership with PRONI regarding the civil rights movement.[213] As they write—in an echo of Slater's prior observations—"the role of the archivist in Northern Ireland itself is political and therefore contested as it operates in the context of the Northern Ireland conflict and the segregated Northern Irish society."[214] Archival and storytelling reconciliation projects recognize a need to overcome impediments in a timely fashion given both the increasing likelihood of participants passing away and, as Kerstin Mey points out, the building digital pressures placed on a congenitally "underdevelop[ed]"

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[210] Slater, "Public Record Office of Northern Ireland," 54.
[211] Gerry Slater, "Confessions of an Archivist," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 29.2 (October 2008): 141
[212] Dirk Schubotz, Martin Melaugh, and Peter McLoughlin, "Archiving Qualitative Data in the Context of a Society Coming out of Conflict: Some Lessons from Northern Ireland," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 12.3 (2011): 3.
[213] CAIN's full civil rights holdings may be viewed online at, Martin Melaugh and Fionnuala McKenna, "Civil Rights Campaign—Details of Source Material," *CAIN*, last modified July 30, 2014, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/crights/source.htm
[214] Dirk Schubotz, Martin Melaugh, and Peter McLoughlin, "Archiving Qualitative Data," 3.

and "diasadvantage[d]" memory infrastructure.[215] The difficult work of preserving and repurposing the objects and stories of conflict remains vitally important, so that, to borrow Crooke's wording, materials might bring some measure of peace to those "zones of emptiness where buildings and people should have been."[216]

II.G. Information Power and Counterpower

The interplay of power, counterpower and information has shaped my dissertation's broad theoretical foundation. The following section explores these interconnected forces by surveying relevant seminal and recent scholarship within sociology, communications, and information studies. By casting a wide net encompassing multiple disciplines, I show multiple instances of the convergence of information and power, as well as chart their confluence and circulation within what Manuel Castells terms the "network society."[217] In this section, I define and discuss hegemonic power before proceeding to discuss how oppositional or counterpower forces coopt or otherwise disrupt hegemonic control of information. I, thereby, hope to lay the groundwork for the archives-specific section on social justice that concludes the literature review.

A vast and diverse body of scholarship exists regarding information's role in the creation and maintenance of societal power structures. The work of Manuel Castells

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[215] Kerstin Mey, "Art, Archives, and the Public Space: Memories of Conflict," (presentation, ELIA Teachers' Academy, Sofia, Bulgaria, July 1-4, 2009).
[216] Ibid., 25.
[217] Castells defines the "network society" as the social structure that characterizes society in the early twenty-first century, a social structure constructed around (but not determined by) digital networks of communication." Manuel Castells, *Communication Power* (New York: Oxford UP, 2009), 4.

offers one logical point of entry since, as Frank Webster notes in his recent edition of *Theories of the Information Society*, "anyone attempting to examine the role and character of information must come to terms with the work of Manuel Castells."[218] Castells' writings seem particular germane to my dissertation's focus on transnational, networked social movements—a major theme in foundational texts of his such as *Communication Power* (2009) and *Networks of Outrage and Hope* (2012). In the former work, Castells provides a helpful broad definition of power:

> Power is the relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor(s) in ways that favor the empowered actor's will, interests, and values. Power is exercised by means of coercion (or the possibility of it) and/ or by the construction of meaning on the basis of the discourses through which social actors guide their action. Power relationships are framed by domination, which is the power that is embedded in the institutions of society.[219]

Castells further explains that the sovereign nation state typically associated with such power has since given way to an "emerging network state" that defines itself in part through "shared sovereignty and responsibility between different states and levels of government."[220]

Castells' conceptualization of network power owes much to Max Weber's early twentieth-century writings concerning the relationship between capitalism and bureaucracy. Weber's seminal writings on bureaucracy's "very large" and "commanding" power, for instance, have been foundational for subsequent scholars of governmental power. Bureaucratic interests, according to Weber, often run counter to those of its citizens, tending "to always exclude the public and, as far as possible, conceal its

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[218] Frank Webster, *Theories of the Information Society*, 4th edition (New York: Routledge, 2014), 98.
[219] Manuel Castells, *Communication Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 10.
[220] Castells, *Communication Power*, 40.

knowledge and actions from criticism."[221] As Bruno Latour explained in 1986, bureaucracy's "essential power" comes from the networks rendered thinkable by the materiality of files and records:

> The 'cracy' of bureaucracy is mysterious and hard to study, but the 'bureau' is something that can be empirically studied, and which explains, because of its structure, why some power is given to an average mind just by looking at files: domains which are far apart become literally inches apart; domains which are convoluted and hidden, become flat; thousands of occurrences can be looked at synoptically. More importantly, once files start being gathered everywhere to insure some two-way circulation of immutable mobiles, they can be arrayed in cascade: files of files can be generated and this process can be continued until a few men consider millions as if they were in the palms of their hands.[222]

As Latour's tone implies, governmental forces have at times wielded its bureaucratic power perniciously and with the intent to manipulate that population now "in the palms of their hands."

Communication—"the sharing of meaning through the exchange of information"—via media acting as "the space of power-making" provides the engine for bureaucratic manipulation.[223] As Professor James Curran's extensive survey of media history from 13th century papal power centers to 1950s British television relates, the relationship between power and media has deep historical roots with "buildings, pictures, statues, coins, banners, stained glass, songs, medallions, rituals of all kinds—were deployed in pre-industrial societies to express sometimes highly complex ideas."[224] According to Castells, present-day nation states such as the U.S., Russia, and China have adapted these well-honed channels of propaganda and misinformation for today's networked world, wherein "state power, in its most traditional manifestation, that is

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[221] Max Weber, *Sociological Writings*, ed. Wolf Heydebrand (New York: Continuum, 1994), 96.
[222] Bruno Latour, "Visualization and Cognition: Thinking with Eyes and Hands," *Knowledge and Society* 6 (1986): 28.
[223] Castells, *Communication Power*, 54, 194.
[224] James Curran, *Media and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 54.

manipulation and control, is pervasive in the media and the Internet throughout the world."[225] Media theorist, Friedrich Kittler had written about the same phenomenon in the context of the bellicose 20th century, describing how those same communication channels "that produced mountains of corpses" also dictated their remembrance.[226] In this respect, individual and collective lives have long been subsumed into a bureaucratic information system that enforces what Castells calls a "monopoly of violence."[227]

Akhil Gupta uses a slightly different terminology—"structural violence"—to highlight the systemic, deeply rooted nature of the same bureaucratic phenomenon of power circulating within a web of banal government materials.[228] Gupta's *Red Tape* analyzes structural violence within the context of modern-day India, wherein he argues, "that structural violence is enacted through the everyday practices of bureaucracies."[229] The forms, certificates, memos, and reams of other digital and paper objects of every day government business become potential mechanisms of bureaucratic violence. As Geoffrey Bowker and Leigh Starr have put it, "the material culture of bureaucracy and empire is not found in pomp and circumstance, nor even in the first instance at the point of a gun, but rather at the point of a list."[230]

More specifically, records become tangible conduits of structural violence by enabling bureaucracies to exercise "biopolitical" control over their citizens. In his January 1978 Collège de France lecture, Foucault defines biopower and describes its historical trajectory:

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[225] Castells, *Communication Power*, 285.
[226] Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 4-5.
[227] Castells, *Communication Power*, 51.
[228] Akhil Gupta, *Red Tape: Bureaucracy, Structural Violence, and Poverty in India,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).
[229] Ibid., 33.
[230] Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999), 153.

> By this [biopower] I mean a number of phenomena that seem to me to be quite significant, namely, the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power, or, in other words, how, starting from the eighteenth century, modern Western societies took on board the fundamental biological fact that human beings are a species.[231]

For biopolitical mechanisms to be deployed effectively, biological data must be converted into manageable information. Examples of how governments employ this biological information abound, from Diane Nelson's work in post-war Guatemala to Anne Stoler's analysis of the colonial Netherlands Indes.

In a particularly resonant instance of the linkages between biopower and records, Bowker and Star analyze racial classifications in apartheid South Africa. From the 1950s onward, South Africa operated under a rigid racial classification structure. Races were officially marked through a legal requirement to carry passbooks—"a compilation of documents attesting to birth, education, employment history, marriage, and other life events."[232] Records were a means to prevent black individuals from entering white areas, to discourage sexual contact between the races, and to forbid other activities that had been deemed unacceptable by the eugenics principles guiding the South African state. Bowker and Star provide an example of the violent intersection of instruments of recordkeeping and racial classification by recounting a first-hand memory of the police's "pencil test": "They sticks a pencil in your hair and you has to bend down, and if your hair holds the pencil, that shows it's too woolly, too thick. You can't be Coloured with woolly hair like that. You got to stay black, you see."[233]

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[231] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2007), 1.
[232] Bowker, *Sorting Things Out*, 198.
[233] Qtd. in Bowker, *Sorting things Out*, 212.

As Bowker and Star's "pencil test" example tragically illustrates, records—and specifically the archives that hold them—often become the loci of structural violence. Katherine Burns's exploration of archives in colonial Peru provides another historical perspective on how imperial power became centralized within the archive:

> Imperial bureaucrats' desire for control at a distance produced protocols of control over information: of recording, archiving, and retrieval. The result is the Foucauldian panopticon writ large, with archives all about knowledge and power, surveillance, and control. The emphasis is on centripetal movement: bureaucrats' data-gathering impetus, and their tendency to draw things in toward imperial institutions.[234]

Once bureaucrats housed the materials of governance in the archive, those in power could then more efficiently and effectively wield the recorded information under their control. Operationalized information might include racial classification statistics such as in the apartheid South Africa illustrated by Bowker and Star or the Indian biopolitical recordkeeping that, according to Gupta, "had far-reaching effects in mapping, surveying, and tabulating the population and, most importantly, in potentially monitoring the lives of women and children."[235] The government's co-option of the archive could also assume a more passive, if equally oppressive, form of control: inaction. As Ann Stoler explains: "In their densities these documents registered distributions of administrative concern that gained cumulative and historical weight. Archives could arm the state with evidence and, in so doing, justify inaction, reduce allocations, and abort policy."[236] In some respects, willful inertia represents a more insidious form of structural violence because of its resultant silences and lack of resolution.

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[234] Kathryn Burns, *Into the Archive: Writing and Power in Colonial Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 2.
[235] Gupta, *Red Tape*, 262.
[236] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 139.

Unjust access limitations provide yet another instance of how archives become sites of structural violence. In Jeannette Bastian's poignant example of Danish colonists literally "sailing away" with the Virgin Islanders historical record, she notes how "the logistics of distance have proved insurmountable for many" native Virgin Islanders, thus giving the colonist's unfettered access to the Island's historical record.[237] In this case, a double injustice occurs through records, as active tools of colonization become reshaped into archival instruments of erasure and biased history making. Cathy Caruth's reading of the strange case of Colonel Chabert provides another illustrative example of archival erasure. In Colonel Chabert's eponymous novella written by Honoré de Balzac in 1832, he becomes hideously wounded in battle and recovers only to find his wife remarried and himself officially dead. Caruth provides an insightful reading of Chabert's realization that his attempts to rejoin the living are futile, as his death has been subsumed into an overarching Napoleonic narrative of heroism: "In this error of death, then, the law of certificates and declarations has paradoxically helped to write a heroic history that eliminates the reality of war."[238] Chabert's story poignantly shows how even the right to one's own life can fall victim to the governmental machinery of records.

If, as Weber argues, "bureaucracy's specific nature, quite welcome to capitalism, is increasingly perfected the more it becomes objectified or 'dehumanized,'" then it seems logical for Castells to identify "outrage" and "hope" as the engines of counterpower. [239] Though lacking in both the physical and theoretical heft of Castells' earlier work, 2012's *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* is a timely book,

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[237] Jeannette Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History* (Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited, 2003), 39.
[238] Cathy Caruth, *Literature in the Ashes of History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 23.
[239] Weber, *Sociological Writings*, 79

which furthers his conceptualization of counterpower. Looking specifically at the "Arab Spring" and "Occupy" movements" diffusing across the globe at the time, Castells analyzes how networked social movements harness current communication technologies to subvert existing power structures. By occupying the autonomous technological spaces of the Internet, mobile messaging, and social networks, these movements take part in Castells' counterpower—a force he defines as "the capacity of social actors to challenge the power embedded in the institutions of society for the purpose of claiming representation for their own values and interests."[240]

Contemporary counterpower, therefore, relies on challenging new, networked forms of hegemonic power. Writing in 1986, media theorist Friedrich Kittler provided a poetic and prescient list of ways the government outpaced its people in harnessing the future technologies of the then "computer age." Describing the rise of NSA computation, or, as he writes—"*the laying of cables"*—Kittler foresaw how governmental, hegemonic power would continue into the digital age. Kittler's "cables" now circulate extensive amounts of controlled information internally within governmental agencies around the globe. Forms, files, and memos have, as Alasdair Roberts's *Blacked Out* tells us, "liquefied" into electronic versions easily stored and manipulated through massive databanks and Electronic Document and Records Management Systems (EDRMS).[241] Rather than precipitating an age of increased public knowledge of government, Roberts relates how the connectivity of the "new global architecture" translates instead into even

[240] Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, 5.
[241] Alasdair Roberts, *Blacked Out*: *Government Secrecy in the Information Age* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 219.

more jealously guarded secrets: "Transparency *within* the network is matched by opacity *without*."[242]

Resistance, therefore, occurs by subverting decentralized power or, as Giles Deleuze memorably describes it—"the coils of a serpent." Building on Foucault's work concerning 18th and 19th disciplinary structures, Deleuze argues that present-day society is dominated by a serpentine structure of control mechanisms— "undaltory, in orbit, in a continuous network." Writing in 1992, Deleuze explains how every regime's network contains "liberating and enslaving forces" struggling within, and, therefore, those who resist mechanisms of control need not "fear or hope, but only to look for new weapons." "Hope" in Castells' opinion, however, was precisely one of the motivating forces behind the global movements of 2012, which "reprogramed" the networks controlled by the "programmers" who created the network agenda and the "switchers" who ensured internetwork cooperation.[243] As Castells summarizes:

> If power is exercised by programming and switching networks, then counterpower, the deliberate attempt to change power relationships, is enacted by reprogramming networks around alternative interest and values, and/or disrupting the dominant switches while switching networks of resistance and social change.[244]

As the computing terminology implies, "reprograming" a network often relies on fluency with 21st century technologies. For instance, Finn Brunton's recent book on unsolicited e-mail messages—or "spam" as it is typically called—identifies how Internet "spammers" "take advantage of existing infrastructures" for mercenary ends.[245] Such infrastructural

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[242] Roberts, *Blacked Out*, 139.
[243] Castells, *Communication Power*, 45.
[244] Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, 9.
[245] Finn Brunton, *SPAM: A Shadow History of the Internet* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2013), 200.

subversion provides a nefarious, yet illustrative, instance of the "new weapons" that Deleuze foresaw in the struggle against networked power.

According to Castells, those struggling to subvert hegemonic power operate within networked, "autonomous" spaces rendered possible by Internet technologies. This third space of autonomy, as he tells us, is a "hybrid of cyberspace and urban space" that allows for unfettered communication between individuals both locally and globally who strive to undue existing power structures.[246] For Castells, the Internet as "embodi[ment] of the culture of freedom" provides counterpower an historically unprecedented potency as it shifts from reliance on pamphlets and other written or oral materials to the horizontal "mass self-communication" tools of Twitter, SMS messages, and other "technologies of freedom."[247] Herein, Castells might be allowing his political enthusiasm to cloud his analysis of both the social movements and their technological engines. In some respects, Castells' portrayal of present-day technologies as innately freeing is simply the inverse of Sherry Turkle's contemporaneous text, *Alone Together*.[248] For Turkle, networks enabled by the Internet are not the stuff of significant social change but rather "the ties that preoccupy," paradoxically isolating the people it connects.[249] Taken together, however, Turkle and Castells provide useful insights into the extreme boundaries of the network's capacity for isolation and liberation.

Allowing for Castells' unchecked enthusiasm for perceived technologies of liberation, recent literature on networked social movements has born out the utility of his

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[246] Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, 222.
[247] Ibid., 15, 231, 233.
[248] Sherry Turkle, *Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other* (New York: Basic Books, 2011).
[249] Turkle, *Alone Together*, 280. Of course, the recent horrific use of Internet technologies for the purposes of ISIS and other terrorist groups should also serve as reminders to temper enthusiasm for the social justice potential of emerging technologies.

theoretical framework. A 2014 article in the *International Journal of Communication*, for instance, applies Castells' theoretical work to the relationship between Twitter and Saudi Arabian social progress, wherein the author concludes that Twitter played a more limited but nonetheless important role in Saudi Arabian's women's rights.[250] In another recent study of symbolic power, Melissa Brough and Zhan Li apply Castells and other communications theorists to the Burmese "Saffron" Revolution.[251] Brough and Li's study adds credence to Castells' premise of networked social movements by concluding that online videos and a web 2.0 presence "increased the political and economic costs of repression for the military junta and reduced its ability to influence the geopolitical framing of the Saffron Revolution."[252] Unexpectedly, Castells is called on to provide both the voice of caution in regards to technological determinism and a theoretical lens for interpreting new media in a recent study published in *Telematics and Informatics.* As the article's name, "Influences of Media on Social Movements: Problematizing hyperbolic references about Impacts," suggests, the article focuses particularly on whether social media has been overhyped in regards to its affect on the Arab Spring and other recent African social movements.[253] Such debates regarding the social justice impact of the Internet and social media will inevitably continue as technology influences, if not necessarily drives, counterpower across the globe.

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[250] Irfan Chaudhry, "#Hashtags for Change: Can Twitter Promote Social Progress in Saudi Arabia." *International Journal of Communication* 8 (2014): 943-961.

[251] Melissa Brough and Zhan Li, "Media Systems Dependency, Symbolic Power, and Human Rights Online Video: Learning from Burma's 'Saffron Revolution' and WITNESS's Hub." *International Journal of Communication* 7 (2013): 281-304. Brough and Li use the following definition of symbolic power on page 2: "the capacity to intervene in the course of events and influence the actions of other by means of the production and transmission of symbolic forms."

[252] Brough and Li, "Media Systems Dependency, Symbolic Power, and Human Rights Online Video," 287.

[253] Anthony A. Olorunnisola and Brandie L. Martin, "Influences of Media on Social Movements: Problematizing Hyperbolic Inferences about Impacts." *Telematics and Informatics* 30 (2013): 275-288.

Shifting technologies and networking opportunities have long been two of the driving forces behind counterpower. Harold Innis, a political economist writing in 1950, wrote the seminal work, *Empire and Communication,* "to outline the significance of communication in a small number of empires as a means of understanding its role in a general sense and as a background to an appreciation of its significance to the British Empire."[254] In his scholarly jaunt through history, Innis encounters ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, and Rome before pivoting towards an analysis of the communication mediums themselves: parchment, paper, the printing press, and finally radio and newsprint. Brendan Dooley's introduction to the *Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* examines some of these communication mediums in early modern Europe. According to Dooley, early modern political and social messages spread "unevenly and with great difficulty beyond the great demographic concentrations" through proto-networks of media and materials.[255] As an example of his thesis, Dooley offers an illustrative instance of printed matter diffusing revolutionary ideas and strategies:

> In Naples Masaniello and his followers were reputedly inspired, in their protest against the Spanish government's fiscal policies, by the circulation of information about a previous rebellion in Palermo. Once they achieved mastery of the city, they turned to news about Holland for examples of a new form of republican government.[256]

Herein Dooley provides an early instance of information transcending national boundaries, language differences, and other barriers to convey a message of counterpower.

Historical antecedents also exist for the types of subversion or reprogramming previously mentioned in relation to contemporary digital-age social movements. In *From*

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[254] Harold Innis, *Empire and Communication (*Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).
[255] Brendan Dooley, "Introduction," *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron, (New York Routledge, 2001).
[256] Dooley, "Introduction," 4.

Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307, for example, Clanchy convincingly argues that the English bureaucratic network flourished due to nascent documentation practices following the Norman invasion of 1066.[257] To the general population, Clanchy relates, writing signified royal power and often was associated with William the Conqueror's audacious construction of the Domesday Book.[258] By 1300, however, the English public had begun to coopt documents for their own purposes. As Clanchy explains, "if they wished to advance themselves or provide for younger sons or daughters, they had to imitate their betters and exploit written procedures."[259] Matthew Hull provides a complimentary instance of a similar process in present-day Pakistan. Hull writes how city planners created Islamabad to physically mirror the preexisting bureaucratic divide between the government and its people. In discussing the city's design, Hull echoes Clanchy's medieval subversion of the written word:

> But the spatial order of the city has been shaped by the social processes the plan sought to curtail, partly because documents such as the files of government apartments, house plans, and site maps work not only as instruments of bureaucratic control but also as media of dissent and negotiation between the government and populace.[260]

Both English peasants of the past and present-day Pakistanis employed the written word to politically empower its people.

Of course, information not only undoes existing power structures but also, and perhaps more importantly, facilitates post-conflict reconciliation. Building on the work of Nelson and others in her dialectical analysis of the recovery of Guatemala's secret police archives, historian Kirsten Weld's *Paper Cadavers: The Archives of Dictatorship in*

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[257] M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edition (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003).
[258] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 35.
[259] Ibid., 49.
[260] Hull, *Government of Paper*, 66.

Guatemala offers a specifically archival example of the complex and contested interplay of information and reconciliation. In her full, unflinching look at how archives can paradoxically both "liberate" and "silence or disappoint," Weld analyzes the particular case of the secret police archives, wherein "records once used in the service of state terror are repurposed by surviving reformers as building blocks for the rule of law and tools of social reckoning."[261] Given the political instability of a post-conflict country such as Guatemala, however, Weld reminds us that the act of repurposing often necessitates navigating a minefield of political, cultural, criminal, and legal pitfalls.

Both Emiko Hastings's " 'No Longer a Silent Victim of History:' Repurposing the Documents of Japanese American Internment," and Michelle Caswell's *Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* likewise uses the term "repurpose" to describe how historical records further present-day justice.[262] Hastings's article offers the following implicit definition of repurposing archival documents:

> Once records have been archived, it is possible for them to be rediscovered by historians and other researchers, who draw upon the materials in ways other than their original purposes. In the second life of the documents, they may be used as evidence to reevaluate the historical processes they document, leading to new understandings.[263]

Caswell's analysis focuses particularly on the repurposing of DC-Cam archival records within a post-Khmer Rouge Cambodia: "DC-Cam's work has ensured that we hear the voices of the survivors and the victims' descendants, who repurpose these records of death

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[261] Kirsten Weld, *Paper Cadavers: The Archives of Dictatorship in Guatemala* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 237.
[262] Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).
[263] Emiko Hastings, 'No Longer a Silent Victim of History:' Repurposing the Documents of Japanese American Internment," *Archival Science* 11 (2011), 38.

into legal evidence, touchstones for shaping collective memory, and above all, raw material for new records of witnessing."[264] As Weld reminds us, the ultimate goal of repurposing records in a post-conflict or transitional society is for the archive to become banal, wherein "records would become normalized like any other archival repository, once justice was done."[265] To better explicate this relationship between archival information and justice, the next section surveys long-standing archival debates on the subject.

II.H. Archives and Social Justice

In Jacques Derrida's famous *Archive Fever*, he concludes, "nothing is less reliable, nothing is less clear today than the word, 'archive'."[266] Derrida's observation seems prescient given the ever-greater mutability of archives in the digital age, wherein "[t]he archivist produces more archive, and that is why the archive is never closed. It opens out of the future."[267] Preceding Derrida's commentary by several decades, Michel Foucault made a similar observation regarding the dynamism of the "never completed, never wholly achieved uncovering of the archive."[268] If, as Derrida and Foucault tell us, the concept of an archive continues to grow and defy completion, then its unique capacity to further social justice appears to be expanding as well. The following paragraphs will further narrow this literature review's focus by placing the earlier conversations of

[264] Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable*, 160.
[265] Weld, *Paper Cadavers*, 249.
[266] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 90.
[267] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 68.
[268] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 131.

information power and counterpower within a specifically archival context. In so doing, I augment the previous sections with a survey of archives-specific historical and philosophical debates.

In the 1992 Society of American Archivists Code of Ethics, the tenth code reads, "archivists should use their specialized knowledge and expertise for the benefit of society."[269] While this ethic might seem self-evident to both archivists and the general public, it has proven more difficult to turn this principle into professional action. Whereas Karen Benedict's *Ethics and the Archival Profession* offers archivists a series of illustrative, hypothetical case studies on how to act ethically, Richard J. Cox and David A. Wallace's *Archives and the Public Good* uses real-life case studies to provide professional guidance.[270] Cox and Wallace's book offers fourteen case studies at the intersection of archives and accountability, occurring in contexts ranging from Apartheid South African to the Boston courtroom where ownership of the Martin Luther King, Jr. papers was decided. Many subsequent archival scholars have built upon the text's premise that records are "essential sources of evidence and information providing the glue that holds together, and sometimes the agent that unravels, organizations, governments, communities, and societies."[271] In so doing, the perception of archives and archivists as being pawns caught up in the flows of power has begun to shift towards one of active agents of change, facilitating power through records.

How archivists become "active agents of change," however, remains arguable and somewhat hazily defined. Glenn Dingwall's 2004 article, "Trusting Archivists: The Role

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[269] Qtd. in Karen Benedict, *Ethics and the Archival Profession: Introduction and Case Studies* (Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 2003), 5.
[270] Richard J. Cox and David A. Wallace, eds. *Archives and the Public Good: Accountability and Records in Modern Society*," (Westport, CT: Quorum Books, 2002).
[271] Cox and Wallace, "Introduction," 1.

of Archival Ethics Codes in Establishing Public Faith," for instance, presents an archetypal archivist who stands guarding the "democratic rights of individuals and of society as a whole," whereas Randall Jimerson's *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability, and Social Justice*—perhaps the most extensive reflection on archivists and power to date—portrays a more dynamic type of archivist. More specifically, Jimerson argues that archives are "sites of important power relationships within society", which allow archivists to "assume significant degrees of power".[272] As a steward of both cultural memory and society's self-conception, the archivist is in a unique position to serve the public interest. Jimerson, therefore, advocates for an "active" archivist, who accepts the impossibility of impartiality and instead embraces the archive's power:

> Archivists can thus contribute to a richer human experience of understanding and compassion. They can help to protect the rights of citizens and to hold public figures in government and business accountable for their actions. They can provide resources for people to examine the past, to comprehend the present, and to prepare for a better future.[273]

Though their arguments differ in other respects, both Dingwall's and Jimmerson's archivists view the public as both the source and intended recipient of whatever archival power they might channel.

If, as Jimerson argues, archivists "actively shape society's knowledge of the past," then adherence to ethical standards is vital to maintaining societal trust. In their editorial note on a 2011 special issue of *Archival Science*, Andrew Flinn and Elizabeth Shepherd remark, "it is no longer sufficient [for archivists] to demand trust on the basis of some abstract claim of professional authority, and that trust must be earned and deserved

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[272] Glen Dingwall, "Trusting Archivists: The Role of Archival Ethics Codes in Establishing Public Faith," *The American Archivist*, Vol. 67 (Spring/Summer 2004): 11-30; Jimerson, *Archives Power*, 20.
[273] Randall Jimerson, "Archives for All: Professional Responsibility and Social Justice," *The American Archivist*. 70 (Fall/Winter: 2007): 253.

through observable practice, effective performance, and ethical behaviour."[274] In their writings on the latter subject, both Glenn Dingwall and Jason Speck call for ethical codes to be modified with a mind to increasing the public's faith in the archive.[275] As Dingwall and Speck argue, archivists who engage in unprofessional or unethical behavior devalue the archival space by violating the compact between the public and the archivist. Speck alone offers two examples of archival employees compromising public faith in the archive, as well as five other instances of explicit "theft and destruction by archivists."[276] He goes on to remind the reader that trust forms the core of a relationship between the archivist and the public, which, according to Jimerson, transforms the archivist from a "neutral guardian of historical source materials" into an "active agent" working on the public's behalf.[277]

Wielding some measure of power over historical interpretation also implies an archival imperative of professional transparency. Terry Cook's *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions* provides a seminal collection of essays on the subject.[278] Cook's introductory essay draws particular attention to archival appraisal's role in both intentionally and unintentionally crafting historical narratives, with the previously mentioned Southern "Lost Cause" archivists serving as a disturbing instance of the

[274] Andrew Flinn and Elizabeth Shepherd, "Questions of Trust (and Distrust)," *Archival Science* 11 (2011), 171
[275] Glen Dingwall, "Trusting Archivists: The Role of Archival Ethics Codes in Establishing Public Faith," *The American Archivist,* 67 (Spring/Summer 2004): 11-30; Jason Speck, "Protecting Public Trust: An Archival Wake-Up Call," *Journal of Archival Organization*, 8 (2010): 31-53.
[276] Speck, "Protecting Public Trust," 42.
[277] Ibid., 32; Jimerson, *Archives Power*, 19.
[278] Terry Cook, ed., *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions; Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011).

former.[279] Given their potentially unchecked power, Cook argues that archivists should strive to become more transparent in their work: "controlling the past is too important to be done invisibly, behind bureaucratic walls, without collaboration."[280] As Cook's quotation implies, the call for transparency extends beyond the archivist to records held within government bureaucracies. In Frank Upward, Sue McKemmish, and Barbara Reed's fascinating examination of archival access through the lens of WikiLeaks and the records continuum, they envision a new type of archival neutrality that is consonant with the post-modern turn in archival theory. In Upwards' words,

> In this century, archival neutrality could be reconceptualized to focus on ensuring that recordkeeping processes have opened themselves up appropriately to the plural rights that exist in records, have done so in a timely fashion, and have been maintained by agents that have co-operated with emerging access regimes for transparency and accountability. [281]

As digital technologies continue to revolutionize traditional archival concepts, archival power remains protean and in need of continual scholarly examination and redefinition.

Over the last few years, the archival literature has hosted a lively debate regarding the specific question of whether archives and archivists are bound by either a moral or professional obligation to pursue social justice.[282] Perhaps most notably, South African

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[279] Terry Cook, "Documenting Society and Institutions: The Influence of Helen Willa Samuels," in Terry Cook, ed., *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions; Essays in Honor of Helen Willa Samuels* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 1-30.
[280] Cook, "Documenting Society and Institutions," 7.
[281] Frank Upward, Sue McKemmish, and Barbara Reed, "Counterpoint: Archivists and Changing Social and Information Spaces: A Continuum Approach to Recordkeeping and Archiving in Online Cultures," *Archivaria* 72 (Fall 2011): 227. For further reading on the intersection of transparency, public trust, and archives, see: Elena Danielson, "Secret Sharers: In an Age of Leaks, Forgeries, and Internet Hoaxes, Archivists Must Guard Information While Keeping Hackers at Bay," *The American Scholar* (Autumn 2011): 39-46; Rahul Sagar, *Secrets and Leaks: The Dilemma of State Secrecy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013).
[282] As will be mentioned in a later paragraph, such debates were recently encapsulated in a three-way debate within the pages of a recent issue of *The American Archivist*. See: Michelle Caswell, "Not Just Between Us: A Riposte to Mark Greene," *The American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013): 604-606; Mark Greene, "A Critique of Social Justice as an Archival Imperative: What *Is* it We're Doing That's All that Important?" *The American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013): 302-334; Randall C. Jimerson,

archivist and educator, Verne Harris, has long been a proponent for and personal exemplar of professional ethics within an unjust governmental or institutional system. From 1990 to 1994, as the prospect of what would become Nelson Mandela's post-apartheid government grew, "the state engaged in a large-scale sanitization of its memory resources, a sanitization designed to keep certain information out of the hands of a future democratic government."[283] When Harris, as archivist in the South African State Archives Service, learned of the destruction, he reported the situation to the director of archives. In response to the director's continued inaction, Harris leaked the information to the press, the opposition African National Congress, and Brian Currin of Lawyers for Human Rights.[284] In becoming a whistleblower, Harris exemplified what he would describe in his 2007 book, *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective*, as an ethic of "hospitality," which, in Harris's terms, "is, at once, to reach for what is not known (for what is, possibly, unknowable), and to reach out to those excluded or marginalized by prevailing relations of power."[285]

In more recent years, the archival literature has begun to expand and build on the theoretical foundations established by Harris, Jimerson, Cox, and others. As Wendy Duff and the coauthors of 2013's "Social Justice Impact of Archives: A Preliminary Investigation" point out, the focus on social justice remains a relatively recent phenomenon within the profession with "37 of the 42 articles (88%) that contain 'social justice' being published since 2000" and "18 of these articles [being] published in the last

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"Archivists and Social Responsibility: A Response to Mark Greene," *The American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013): 335-345.

[283] Harris, " 'They Should have Destroyed More'," 206.

[284] Ibid., 215.

[285] Verne Harris, *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007), 5.

two and a half years."[286] Even more recently, some archivists have challenged whether social justice even falls within the archival mandate. The Fall/Winter 2013 issue of *The American Archivist*, for instance, featured an unprecedented three-way debate on the subject between Mark Greene, Rand Jimerson, and Michelle Caswell. Greene's thesis "that pursuing 'social justice,' as high minded and universal an aspiration as it may sound, risks overly politicizing and ultimately damaging the archival profession," sparked retorts from Jimerson and Caswell. In response to Greene's claim that he advocated a universal mandate for archivists to employ social justice, Jimerson wrote, "To argue that this [the social justice call] is an obligation for *all* archivists would undermine the entire premise of my concern for social justice."[287] Jimerson's earlier argument is more accurately described as a call for each archivist to follow his or her own conscious and for the profession as a whole to "support the goals of democratic accountability, inclusiveness, open government, and social justice."[288]

To understand the archives and archivists who answer Jimerson's call, archival scholarship has begun to move beyond abstractions to concrete measurements of social justice impacts. The previously mentioned "Social Justice Impact of Archives," provides the first stage of a larger project to understand both positive and negative archival impacts on social justice. Bemoaning the archival literature's haphazard application and study of the phrase "social justice," Duff and her co-authors provide the framework-conceptualization that I cited in my introduction as a means to assess, among other things,

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[286] Wendy M. Duff et al. "Social Justice Impact of Archives: A Preliminary Investigation," *Archival Science* 13, no. 4 (2013): 343.
[287] Randall C. Jimerson, "Archivists and Social Responsibility: A Response to Mark Greene," *The American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2013): 336.
[288] Jimerson, "Archivists and Social Responsibility," 336.

the continuum of impacts (multidimensional scales of positives and negatives).[289] To better illustrate their classifications, the authors analyze two case studies where archives facilitate social justice: a groundbreaking television series drawing on archival materials to reveal the horrors of the Pinochet dictatorship and court trials relying on archival documents for reparations to Japanese Americans interred during World War II. The results exhibit the model's potential to increase the rigor of future social justice case studies, which have long been a staple of archival scholarship.[290]

David Wallace, one of the co-authors of Duff's report, provides an example of how cutting-edge social justice research has become more sophisticated and collaborative in its methods. Featured in the Fall 2014 issue of *Archival Science*, Wallace's research specifically explores the therapeutic value of archives in relation to the Rwandan genocide. In analyzing the Stories for Hope-Rwanda (SFH) project, Wallace and his cross-disciplinary co-authors offer the first assessment in the archival literature of the psychological benefits and risks of storytelling in a post-conflict society.[291] The study concludes that the SFH project allowed voices to fill the lingering silences of the genocide, benefiting both individual participants and the general reconciliation process. As Wallace relates, "We view the project's acts of participant remembering and sharing as an active process of social engagement that uses both story and archives as part of a

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[289] Ibid., 339.

[290] For a few representative examples, see: Michelle Caswell, "Rethinking Inalienability: Trusting Nongovernmental Archives in Transitional Societies," *The American Archivist* 76, no.1 (Spring/Summer 2013): 113-134; Greg Brashear, "Turning History into Justice: The National Archives and Records Administration and Holocaust-Era Assets, 1996-2001," in *Archives and the Public Good: Accountability and Records in Modern Society*," eds. Richard J. Cox and David A. Wallace (Westport, CT: Quorum Books, 2002); David A. Wallace et al., "Stories for Hope-Rwanda: A Psychological-Archival Collaboration to Promote and Cultural Continuity through Intergenerational Dialogue." *Archival Science* (Fall 2014): 1-32.

[291] Wallace et al., "Stories for Hope-Rwanda," 28.

healing process."[292] Furthermore, by "democratizing the archive" in terms of content, access, and other archival elements, the SFH project avoids the archival pitfall of what archivist Rodney G.S. Carter identifies as "speak[ing] for others" and "undermin[ing] the right of groups to remain silent."[293]

In some respects, the call for a "democratized archive" has multiple antecedents extending as far back as F. Gerald Ham's 1981 introduction of the "post-custodial" archive, which was in part predicated on collaboration and expanded access.[294] Archivist Eric Ketelaar more recently expressed a similar sentiment in his redefinition of archives as a communal "spaces of memory," serving "as a place of shared custody and trust."[295] Terry Cook also has argued for a more inclusive, or democratized, archive that moves beyond the three previous historical conceptions—evidence, memory, and identity—toward a present-day fourth stage predicated on "community."[296] Cook's specific conception of "community" echoes the earlier writings of both Ham and Ketelaar:

> In this new digital, political, and pluralistic universe, professional archivists need to transform themselves from elite experts behind institutional walls to becoming mentors, facilitators, coaches, who work in the community to encourage archiving as a participatory *process* shared with many in society, rather than necessarily acquiring all the archival *products* in our established archives.[297]

Of course, as Michelle Caswell's DC-CAM research tells us, the recent scholarly emphasis on community should extend beyond the archive and archivists to include redefinitions of the very records themselves. More specifically, Caswell argues for

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[292] Ibid., 29.
[293] Rodney G.S. Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence," *Archivaria* 61 (2006), 226-227.
[294] F. Gerald Ham, "Archival Strategies for the Post-Custodial Age," *The American Archivist* 44, no. 3 (Summer 1981): 207-216.
[295] Eric Ketelaar, "Archives as Spaces of Memory," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 19.1 (April, 2008), 21
[296] Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, Community," 113.
[297] Ibid., 114.

expanding archival conceptions of provenance "to include these active participants in the ongoing and constantly shifting 'community of records'," which Caswell defines as the archivists, the bereaved families, the tourists, and all others whose actions are "adding narratives of witnessing, memorialization, and protest over the silences of the original records."[298]

Of course, an exploration of archival emphasis on community must also mention the growing body of research regarding community archives.[299] Diana K. Wakimoto and the co-authors of the 2013 article, "Archivist as Activist: Lessons from three Queer Community Archive in California," draw on the extensive work of Andrew Flinn, Mary Stevens and others to define community archives, as "archives that have been created, maintained, and controlled by community members within their communities."[300] Furthermore, community archives shape aspects of Anne Gilliland's conception of digital-age archives and archivists. As she concludes in her 2014 book, *Conceptualizing 21st Century Archives*, archivists must "think more strategically and systematically about why, when, and how they should share professional or intellectual territory with other communities through collaboration, cooperation, or layering of expertise and other

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[298]Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable*, 21. Stacy Wood and the co-authors of a recent article in *Archival Science* made a similar human rights argument concerning archival description, Stacy Wood, et al., "Mobilizing Records: Re-framing Archival Description to Support Human Rights," *Archival Science* 14 (2014): 397-419.

[299] For a few recent instances of archival literature focusing on community archives, see: Jeanette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander, *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (London: Facet, 2009); Andrew Flinn, "Independent Community Archiving and Community-Generated Content: 'Writing, Saving and Sharing Our Histories'," *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 16, no. 1 (2010): 39-51. Michelle Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History: Community Archives and the Fight Against Symbolic Annihilation," *The Public Historian* 36, no. 4 (2014): 26-37: John Erde, "Constructing Archives of the Occupy Movement," *Archives and Records: The Journal of the Archives and Records Association* 35, no. 2 (2014): 77-92.

[300] Diana K. Wakimoto, Christine Bruce, Helen Partridge, "Archivist as Activist: Lessons from Three Queer Community Archives in California," *Archival Science* 13 (2013): 295.

resources."[301] The archival turn towards issues of community, social justice, and digitization all intersect to form the type of post-custodial archive envisioned here at the dawn of the new millennia.

[301] Anne Gilliland, *Conceptualizing 21st-Century Archives* (Chicago: Society of American Archivist, 2014), 257.

III. METHODOLOGY

III. A. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

I answer my research questions through qualitative means. This approach stems from the study itself being deeply rooted within an overarching qualitative philosophy. As educational psychologist John Cresswell relates, the philosophy can be encapsulated in four assumptions: "multiple views of reality (ontological), evidence is subjective, research is value-laden, and researchers use inductive logic, context, and an emergent design."[302] These assumptions align perfectly with studying complex movements composed of and sustained by subjective, multiple views of history and politics. Furthermore, the qualitative approach to research predicates itself on trying to ascertain events or phenomena through the unique perspectives of individuals or people groups—data often gathered, as in this dissertation, through semi-structured interviews, field observations, and other means.

As G.E. Gorman and Peter Clayton point out in *Qualitative Research for the Information Professional*, those studying information have begun to value the effectiveness of qualitative approaches.[303] Yang Wang et. al's " 'I Regretted the Minute I Pressed Share': A Qualitative Study of Regrets on Facebook" provides an exemplary instance of how qualitative approaches may provide the best means for answering certain

[302] John Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2013), 21.
[303] G.E. Gorman and Peter Clayton, *Qualitative Research for the Information Professional: A Practical Handbook*, 2nd Edition (London: Facet Publishing, 2005).

information science questions.[304] More specifically, Wang et. al's employment of semi-structured interviews provided a uniquely effective method for eliciting more subtle forms of data, such as "the users' daily, often mundane Facebook experiences which they might forget or take for granted."[305] This type of nuanced, subjective data often goes to the heart of the matter and shows how qualitative approaches often provide the most effective means for answering research questions such as mine. Due to these reasons, as well as the alignment between qualitative methods and the social movements that form the core element of the study, the dissertation draws exclusively on a qualitative philosophy and approach.

III.B. Data Collection & Analysis

More specifically, the dissertation employs a qualitative case study approach, which Gorman and Clayton describe as the "application of specific qualitative research methods in a specific setting."[306] Stephen D. Lapen and the co-authors of *Qualitative Research: an Introduction to Methods and Designs* further describe how "case study results offer those

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[304] Representative examples of qualitative and mixed methods studies in information science include Karen E. Fisher, Joan C. Durrance, and Marian Bouch Hinton, "Information Grounds and the Use of Need-Based Services by Immigrants in Queens, New York: A Context-Based, Outcome Evaluation Approach," *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 55, no. 8 (2004): 754-766; Paul Conway, "Modes of Seeing: Digitized Photographic Archives and the Experienced User," *The American Archivist* 73, no. 2(Fall/Winter 2010): 425-462; Karen F. Gracy, "Documenting Communities of Practice: Making the Case for Archival Ethnography," *Archival Science* 4 (2004): 335-365; Michéle V. Cloonan and Shelby Sanett, "The Preservation of Digital Content," *Portal: Libraries and the Academy* 5.2 (April 2005): 213-237; Elizabeth Yakel and Deborah A. Torres, "AI: Archival Intelligence and User Expertise," The *American Archivist* 66, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2003): 51-78; Scott Counts and Karen E. Fisher, "Mobile Social Networking as Information Ground: A Case Study," *Library & Information Science Research* 32 (2010): 98-115.

[305] Yang Wang, et. al, " 'I Regretted the Minute I Pressed Share'" A Qualitative Study of Regrets on Facebook," *Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium on Usable Privacy and Security*, July 20-22, 2011, Pittsburgh, PA, 1-13.

[306] Gorman and Clayton, *Qualitative Research for the Information Professional*, 47.

directly affected by the case (stakeholders) and others interested in the event or program (audiences) extended awareness by providing rich detail about highlighted aspects of the case."[307] Case studies have a proven track record within archival studies, with scholars widely and effectively employing the case study approach to investigate archival issues.

By adopting a multi-site or comparative case study approach, I push archival scholarship beyond traditional single-site case studies. Although comparative research sometimes focuses on a primary site that is then supplemented with research data from additional sites, this dissertation adopts another comparative approach, described by Gorman and Clayton as "two or more cases of equal value and depth that are compared and contrasted."[308] I chose the latter approach because I predicate my research questions on the assumption that both regions are equally significant and merit the same level of examination. Furthermore, comparing equivalent research sites aligns well with the constant comparative method of data analysis, wherein, as Lapan and his co-authors relate, "analysis begins early in the study, is ongoing, and is nearly completed by the end of data collection."[309]

While recognizing the temptation to engage in essentialist, counterproductive comparisons between cultures, historical events, or political circumstances, I build on pre-existing studies of politics and culture in Northern Ireland. Previous comparative studies, such as Richard Rose's "On the Priorities of Citizenship in the Deep South and Northern Ireland," and Charles A. Reilly's *Peace-Building and Development in Guatemala and*

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[307] Stephen D. Lapan, MaryLynn T. Quartaroli, and Frances J. Riemer, *Research Methods for the Social Sciences: Qualitative Research: An Introduction to Methods and Designs* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2012), 244

[308] Gorman and Clayton, *Qualitative Research for the Information Professional*, 51.

[309] Lapan, Quartaroli, and Riemer, *Research Methods for the Social Sciences*, 178.

Northern Ireland, have provided methodological references for my study.[310] For instance, Rose's study exemplifies the importance of remembering that in the case of the Deep South and Northern Ireland, "their differences [are] as potentially as instructive as their similarities." Whereas Reilly's comparison of the "different but parallel settings" of peace-building in Northern Ireland and Guatemala has helped me understand the "stop-and-go process of implementing peace."[311] I also draw on comparative work focusing on pre-partition Ireland, which includes the peoples and cultures of the countries presently known as the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Kieran Quinlin's comparative study of Ireland and the American South and Cheryl Temple Herr's comparison of Ireland and the Midwest, for instance, served as reminders of the long and complex roots linking the island of Ireland with North America long before current national and political boundaries. By following the example of multifaceted comparative studies that eschew simplistic or essentialist comparisons, I push cross-national comparisons beyond well-trod historical contexts by instead comparing the ongoing materiality of these movements within archives.

III. C. DATA SOURCES

[310] Richard Rose, "On the Priorities of Citizenship in the Deep South and Northern Ireland, *The Journal of Politics* 38, no. 2 (May, 1976): 247-291 and Charles A. Reilly, *Peace-Building and Development in Guatemala and Northern Ireland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
[311] Reilly, *Peace-Building & Development in Guatemala & Northern Ireland*, 4.

Research locations were selected through a non-random, judgmental sampling, wherein I relied on my own judgment to select sites best suited for this type of comparative study.[312] I based selection on my in-depth knowledge of both the regions and the archival types being investigated. Most importantly, I weighed each site's congruence with my research objectives, asking whether the potential site provided the best means for answering my stated questions.[313] I have applied the same logic to sampling *within* the selected research site. Again, I relied on my own judgment in selecting whom to observe and interview among those involved in the archive's operation. The selection of interview subjects was relatively easy, given that only a limited number of individuals engage in the activities related to the proposed research questions. As noted in the introduction, some of these individuals self-identify as archivists, while others engage with records in different professional capacities. The following people participated in the study:

- **LAURA ANDERSON:** ARCHIVIST (BIRMINGHAM CIVIL RIGHTS INSTITUTE)
- **AHMAD WARD**: HEAD OF EDUCATION AND EXHIBITIONS (BIRMINGHAM CIVIL RIGHTS INSTITUTE)
- **JIM BAGGETT:** HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS (BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARY)
- **JULIA MARKS YOUNG:** DIRECTOR, ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICES DIVISION 2005-2016 (MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES & HISTORY)
- **DAVID PILCHER:** DIRECTOR, ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICES DIVISION 2016-PRESENT (MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES &HISTORY)
- **ADRIAN KERR**: MANAGER (MUSEUM OF FREE DERRY)
- **MONICA CASH:** DEPUTY LIBRARIAN (LINEN HALL LIBRARY)

I selected participants based on their unique knowledge of institutional approaches to archiving civil rights materials.

In keeping with the suggested practice for comparative case studies, I have limited myself to four research sites. I have built a purposive sample of two archives in Northern

[312] David M. Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step by Step* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2010), 35.
[313] Ibid.

Ireland and two in the American South, which has allowed me to explore civil rights archiving within these two regions. Furthermore, four sites allowed me to analyze a spectrum of repository types (e.g. governmental, community, independent, etc.) that archive the civil rights movements. As mentioned in an earlier section, I have visited a Derry community archive, The Museum of Free Derry: The National Civil Rights Archive, and a Belfast independent archive, The Linen Hall Library. By visiting sites in both Derry and Belfast, I have gained a clearer understanding of how the movement is currently understood regionally as well as nationally. In the American South, I have visited archives in Alabama and Mississippi—two Deep South states internationally known as a battleground for 1960s civil rights. Collectively, these sites comprise a limited yet representative sample of civil rights archiving in these regions from which to collect and analyze the data needed to answer my research questions.

To investigate each site in its totality, I have drawn on some methods more typically associated with ethnographic research. For instance, fieldwork has provided an initial source of data collection, which I undertook by first gaining access to the individuals and archival spaces fundamental to my research.[314] During visits I relied on traditional methods of field observation as identified by sociologist, John D. Brewer: "It [field observation] involves data gathering by means of participation in the daily life of informants in their natural setting: watching, observing and talking to them in order to discover their interpretations, social meanings and activities."[315] While visiting research sites, I observed the staff's activities and interactions with users. I was sensitive to the

[314] John D. Brewer, *Ethnography* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2000); Martyn Hammersley & Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2007).
[315] Brewer, *Ethnography*, 59.

privacy of archival users by not collecting any data that might lead to identification without consent or otherwise prove obtrusive in any way.

My primary source of data collection, however, has been semi-structured interviews. Since interviews have been in-depth and time intensive, I have only interviewed archivists and institutional representatives relevant to this study. I spent 1 to 2 hours total with each participant, touring the facility and conducting 60- to 90-minute interviews in either a long single session or in a few scattered sessions, depending on the participant's availability. I have used semi-structured interviews to balance the naturalness of an open interview with the focus and efficiency of a structured interview. As Brewer remarks, "semi-structured interviews may have some combination of the two, with some closed questions in the form of a structured interview schedule recorded on the schedule itself […], and other open questions written beforehand as guides and recorded on tape or by notes."[316] Therefore, I have relied on some structured questions (e.g. How long has your archive been in operation?) and themes to cover during the course of the interview (e.g. collaborations, user groups, etc.). All interviews have been recorded on an audio recorder for later analysis. I name all interviewees in the study since they have given me explicit permission and speak in a professional capacity about their institution.

I have triangulated my interview and field observation data by collecting textual data at each site. Textual data, according to Martyn Hammersley, are the documents and artifacts […] that can illuminate the emerging focus of inquiry," which encompass relevant primary and secondary textual materials within analog and digital forms.[317] Textual data that I consulted during the course of my research includes institutional

[316] Ibid., 63.
[317] Martyn Hammersley, *What is Qualitative Research*? (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 58.

histories, museum-like artifacts such as rally posters and buttons, annual reports and other records foundational to the archive and its mission, and various digital collections. I have analyzed these materials for any information related to my research questions, as well as textual data as a point of comparison with my fieldwork and interviews. The table below provides a more detailed listing of some of the collections and materials that I consulted during my research.

Table 1. Sources of Textual Data

Institution	Collections	Materials
Birmingham Civil Rights Institute	1. Robert G. Corley Papers	1. Administrative and exhibit records
Mississippi Department of Archives and History	1. Sovereignty Commission Online 2. Annual and Biannual Reports	1. Digitized records of the "state's official counter civil rights agency from 1956-1973" 2. Information related to the MDAH's founding and administration
Linen Hall Library	1. NI Political Collection 2. Irish and Reference	1. Archive of NI Civil Rights Association 2. The Linen Hall Library (institutional records)
Museum of Free Derry	1. Digitized galleries 2. N/A due to move to new location	1. Free Derry Corner, Civil Rights, etc.
Birmingham Public Library	1. Richard Arrington Papers	1. Materials about the creation of BCRI
Brown University	1. Brown-Tougaloo Exchange Records	1. Materials related to the Tougaloo-Brown partnership

As previously mentioned, I analyzed all collected data using the constant comparative method. This approach to data analysis, introduced by sociologist Barney Glaser in 1965, has proven effective in a variety of information-specific studies.[318] One relatively recent study concerning high school information seeking, for instance, applied the constant comparative method in a manner similar to my own: data analysis began after the first observation and continued throughout the field work process, during which time codes continually fluctuated as patterns and themes emerged.[319] I noted a similar fluctuation in my own coding and memoing, which became more targeted as my project themes developed.

I standardized codes as specific themes became clear in later interviews. For instance, I developed some codes with main and sub-categories such as "Human rights-LGBTQ" and "Collaborations-international." In fact, the dissertation's title, *The Struggle Continues*, only surfaced after I noticed the phrase being used in multiple interviews and data sources. Moreover, I used *in vivo* coding when a phrase uniquely captured an important point about one of my research themes. Specific *in vivo* codes that I used while encoding transcriptions include "the power of the moving image" and the evocative phrases, "automatic empathy" and "we are history." Aside from instances such as these, all other codes drew on my own phrasing and were grounded in the data's significant

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[318] Barney G. Glaser, "The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis," *Social Problems* 12.4 (Spring, 1965): 436-445.

[319] Jin Soo Chung and Delia Neuman, "High School Students' Information Seeking and Use for Class Projects," *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 58, no. 10 (2007): 1503-1517. For other instances of constant comparative approaches to data analysis in information science, see Sara Julibert, "Employee Attitudes to Information Sharing: A Case Study at the European Central Bank, *Records Management Journal* 18, no. 3 (2008): 194-204; Ji-Hong Park, "The Effects of Personalization on User Continuance in Social Networking Sites," *Information Processing and Management* 50 (2014): 462-475; Makiko Miwa and Noriko Kando, "A Naïve Ontology for Concepts of Time and Space for Searching and Learning," *Information Research* 11, no. 2 (January 2007): 380-389; Isto Huvila, "In Web Search We Trust? Articulation of the Cognitive Authorities of Web Searching," *Information Research* 18, no. 1 (March, 2013).

themes and patterns. Along with codes, transcriptions also included frequent memos that reflected on the data and served as pointers to emerging questions and points of comparison between interviews. A memo from the transcription of an interview with Adrian Kerr at the Museum of Free Derry, for instance, noted, "Problem with central museum that tells 'sanitised' story. Is this problem with neutrality as well?"[320]

Since data analysis has been continuous, certain unexpected themes emerged during the research process. Education, for instance, only became a central dissertation theme after I encoded early interviews focusing on the educational dimensions of the archive's work. Interview coding both revealed education's role within institutional missions and provided a tool for comparing and contrasting each archive's approach to educating the public. Another example of an unexpected unifying thread among archives was a recent emphasis on LGBTQ materials. The importance of documenting LGBTQ issues emerged in my first interview and continued throughout, with—as the BCRI's Laura Anderson explained—LGBTQ rights providing an urgent instance of the need for cultural heritage institutions to support human rights.[321] While I expected educational and LGBTQ issues to arise during data collection, I did not appreciate their significance until I began coding the transcriptions.

My constant comparative approach to data analysis aided the reevaluation and refinement of data collection. It clarified, for instance, which themes and questions to focus on during interviews, as well as helped me formulate better follow-up questions in future interviews. Moreover, the regular analysis of collected textual data from within archival collections helped target subsequent research. Knowing what materials yielded

[320] Adrian Kerr, Manager, Museum of Free Derry, interview with author, March 22, 2017.
[321] Laura Anderson, Archivist, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, interview with author, November 4, 2015.

helpful information at previous archives helped me to become more efficient with data collection at later research sites. The Mississippi Department of Archives and History's annual reports, for instance, shaped my understanding of the archive's inner workings and became the first resource I searched for at subsequent research site. Prior to each site visit, I sifted through the collected photographs and notes of previous research trips as a way to refine my research strategy and become more efficient with data collection. Over time, I learned to allocate enough time to analyze each site in its totality, which, in most cases, meant walking the neighborhood as well as making observations in the reading room.

As with any qualitative study, I was reflexive when collecting and analyzing my data. I asked all participants to review interview transcriptions in order to check for inaccuracies and biases on my part. Perhaps more importantly, I was willing to act on these member checks and revise my study accordingly. I tried not to take participant interviews as "valid in their own terms," but rather as one perspective among many and, therefore, a valuable but potentially factually inaccurate source of subjective information and insights. In order to ensure that my study establishes rigor and trustworthiness, I rely on thick descriptions that provide the context surrounding my observations and analysis.[322] For instance, I describe relevant locational information concerning the archive and the differing cultural references of participants. I also kept records of my memos, field notes, interviews, and all other elements of my research, so that there will be an audit trail for others to follow. Through these means, I hope to ensure that my study is of lasting value and might encourage further research on these subjects.

[322] Ibid., 126.

I also accounted for my personal background and cultural context throughout the research process. Given that my understanding of the American South stems from lived experience versus my academic interest in Northern Ireland, my interactions with the two regions inevitably differed to some degree. I have lived in Birmingham and visited Jackson, MS multiple times before the study, and accordingly felt comfortable navigating both cities. By comparison, I had never visited Northern Ireland prior to my research and had to familiarize myself with the cities of Belfast and Derry, as well as the research sites themselves. My familiarity with the American South gave me a greater comfort level at those sites, which might have affected how I conducted my interviews and field observations. I also believe that my personal background affected how I processed the exhibitions seen and stories heard at sites in the two regions. While the Museum of Free Derry's exhibits were universally powerful and moving, I was greatly affected seeing the historical injustices in my home state. For instance, images of a Freedom Riders bus burning in a town close to where I grew up were deeply disturbing on a personal level. While I tried to remain objective in my research, my background undoubtedly had some effect on how I viewed and approached research sites.

Furthermore, I was sensitive to ongoing political issues in Northern Ireland throughout my research. The subpoenaed paramilitary oral histories of the Belfast Project provide a well-known, recent instance of the legal and political pitfalls of academic research in Northern Ireland.[323] In the wake of the case, studies focusing on crimes and

[323] For news articles on the most recent developments in the case, see: "Legal Action Against Suspect in Jean McConville Murder to Go Ahead," *The Irish Times*, last modified September 15, 2017, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/crime-and-law/legal-action-against-suspect-in-jean-mcconville-murder-to-go-ahead-1.3222922 ; Alan Erwin, "Boston College Tapes: Winston Rea's Interviews to be Flown Back from US but Police Must not Examine Contents, *Belfast Telegraph*, last modified February 13, 2015, http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/boston-college-tapes-winston-reas-interviews-to-be-flown-back-from-us-but-police-must-not-examine-contents-30990328.html

controversial issues have had to make allowances for an understandable hesitancy to participate in research projects in Northern Ireland.[324] However, since I limited interviews and field observations to record keeping professionals and their institutional environments, I did not encounter any of the difficulties associated with studies concerning paramilitaries in Northern Ireland or hate groups in the American South. Therefore, assurances of anonymity were not necessary, given that my interview questions mostly concerned work experiences as opposed to personal views. By acting in consultation with both colleagues and the University of Pittsburgh's Institutional Review Board (IRB), I worked to ensure a safe experience for all those who participate and have done my best to allay any concerns.

As mentioned in the introduction, my qualitative training and varied educational background both informed my undertaking of this type of ambitious, innovative research. My dual training in Irish Studies and Information Science gave me a unique skill set aligned with the demands of the study. Furthermore, as a native Southerner, I am familiar with the area and its lingering racial tensions, which has enabled me both to navigate the region and to draw on the contacts that I have in Birmingham and Jackson. I also understand the complex historical and contemporary milieu of Northern Ireland, and yet, as an outsider, am largely immune to any sectarian issues that might accompany a researcher native to Northern Ireland. My Information Science training has taught me how information circulates within power and counterpower networks; this course of study has also provided me with a thorough understanding of archival practice and its role within the community.

[324] See Christine George, "Archives Beyond the Pale: Negotiating Legal and Ethical Entanglements After the Belfast Project." *American Archivist* 76 (Spring/Summer 2013): 47-67.

IV. "WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOUR": NEUTRALITY AND THE LINEN HALL LIBRARY

At 10:00 on a Friday morning in 1796, the British military declared martial law in Belfast. With "a troop of horse before [her] door," Mrs. Martha McTier wrote a letter describing the army's arrest of the Society of United Irishmen's leadership. She reports, "Haslett is taken; Neilson and Russell have been walking the streets till about an hour ago, when, the Library being broken open, and search being made for them, they delivered themselves up […] They are all now at the Library before the Marquis, Castlereagh, Westmeath, Bristow, Banks, etc., and carriages, guards, etc., to take them off to Dublin."[325] The British had good reason to search the library, as several of those arrested were its governors and the soon to be executed Thomas Russell was its librarian.[326] Although this hive of revolution was and remains the Belfast Society for Promoting Knowledge it has more commonly become known simply as the Linen Hall Library.

Located within the heart of central Belfast, the Linen Hall Library has endured over two centuries of sectarianism and conflict. In this chapter, I will analyze how the library has responded to continuing conflict throughout its history, focusing on its origins in the 1798 rebellion before addressing the more recent history of the Troubles (1968-1998) and the post-Good Friday Agreement period from 1998 to the present. I argue that the Library's philosophy of "engaged neutrality" has been key to its success during the

[325] "Letter from Mrs. Martha McTier to Dr. William Drennan, 16 September 1796" in *The Decade of the United Irishmen: Contemporary Accounts: 1791-1801*, John Killen, ed. (Belfast: The Blackstaff Press, 1998), 83.
[326] John Gray, "The Library that Almost Died: The Campaign to Save the Linen Hall Library," *Linen Hall Review* 1 no. 1 (Spring 1984): 8.

Troubles and post-conflict periods. To pinpoint the Library's unique approach to archiving, I draw on historian Pierre Nora's well-known theorization of *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory).[327] In so doing, I hope to show how "engaged neutrality" has helped the Library become a site of balance, safety, and reconciliation.

IV. A. "Engaged Neutrality"

Recent scholarship tends to present neutrality and social justice as opposing archival approaches to injustice. Some archivists believe it to be their professional and moral duty to advocate for a social good, while others maintain archivists should never intentionally adopt a political stance that might compromise the integrity of the archive. As I noted in the literature review, the former approach has superseded the latter, with most scholarship now affirming that archives are inescapably political by nature. In the case of the Linen Hall Library, however, neutrality and social justice have become interwoven into what the Library terms "engaged neutrality." By remaining active but unaligned during the Troubles, the Library collected and presented its materials in a balanced fashion. Its work continued during the worst of the Troubles, undeterred by paramilitaries, security forces, the Special Powers Act, and financial strain. Accordingly, the Library earned the trust of a diverse range of individuals and organizations that patronized the institution with both their presence and their materials. The "engaged neutrality" approach also shaped the Library into a communal space sorely lacking in a Belfast long riven by war and political

[327] Pierre Nora, "Preface to the English-Language Edition," *Realms of Memory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, vol. 1, *Conflicts and Divisions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xviii.

divisions. Although borne of the Troubles, "engaged neutrality" grew organically out of the institution's longstanding commitment to openness and inclusivity, which continues to inform its work in post-Good Friday Northern Ireland.

As the name implies, "engaged neutrality" does not denote silence or an abdication of social responsibility but rather an attempt to create a safe space in an extremely politicized environment—an act that requires commitment, maintenance, and negotiation. The Library, of course, is not and never can be a de-politicized space but is rather what Monica Cash, the Library's deputy librarian, describes as a safe and judgment-free zone:

> It's a safe environment for people to come in and they're not judged on their politics. We have no judgment—if somebody wants to come in and research controversial issues that they would have been involved in, we're not judge or jury. Our job as librarians is to provide the information […].

"Engaged neutrality" focuses on creating a space that can accommodate the spectrum of Northern Ireland's political views in a tolerant and balanced fashion. The Library does not hide or deny the political connotations of its holdings, exhibits, and overall work but rather strives to approach the conflict in a "neutral" or unbiased way.

In many respects, "engaged neutrality" is about breaking the silences caused by decades of trauma, fear, and intimidation. As John Gray wrote regarding the Library's response to the 40th anniversary of both the beginning of the Troubles and the creation of the NIPC, "silence is hardly an option in Northern Ireland." Therefore, as Gray explains, the Library must decide the most appropriate way to take part:

> In doing so [marking the anniversary] we could be positive and focus on the Peace Process, but to do that alone would be to side-step what has gone before. We could cater for a new generation of young voyeurs who have never actually known 'The Troubles', by exhibiting our most ghoulish relics, but that would be to evade any attempt at understanding.[328]

[328] John Gray, "A View from the Linen Hall," *Library Newsletter* (Spring 2008): 2.

Ultimately, Gray argues that it is the responsibility of cultural institutions to make possible a "climate of maximum openness," which means not shying away from Northern Ireland's thorny history.

In practice, "engaged neutrality" entails actively seeking conflicting viewpoints. Both the collections and the staff who develop them are disparate in backgrounds and beliefs. As Cash relates, the Library's ability to gather and make available a myriad of contrasting political messages is foundational to the concept of "engaged neutrality": "I [Cash] always start off with a quote that came from one of my predecessors and it said that in the Political Collection we have something to offend everybody."[329] Its collections "cover all of the political spectrum" and its exhibits focus on a "shared history idea" that complicates traditional, one-sided historical narratives.[330] In a similar vein, the preface to *Troubled Images: Posters and Images of the Northern Ireland Conflict from the Linen Hall Library*, stresses that the Library's neutrality is an engaged one, meaning that "we [the authors], no less than the community in which we live and serve, have widely differing opinions."[331] Political diversity in both staff and materials has helped create an inclusive archival space within a community still rife with divisions.[332]

The Library is well known for its inclusiveness and uses cultural programing and other forms of outreach to "promote that everybody is welcome to come through our [the Library's] doors."[333] Researchers in the NIPC may sit next to local students doing homework or a casual visitor enjoying a book from the reading room's open shelves. The

[329] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
[330] Ibid.
[331] Yvonne Murphy, Allan Leonard, Gordon Gillespie, and Kris Brown, eds., *Troubled Images: Posters and Images of the Northern Ireland Conflict from the Linen Hall Library, Belfast* (Belfast: Linen Hall Library, 2001), 10.
[332] Gender diversity in management positions, however, only arrived recently to the Linen Hall Library, with its first female librarian and deputy librarian both being appointed in the last decade.
[333] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.

windows are often open on nice days, letting in sounds from the bustling Belfast City Hall just across the street from the reading room. In other words, it is a spot whose welcome extends to more than the serious researcher to include patrons of various ages, backgrounds, and informational needs. This might be somewhat surprising given that the Library is famously the last subscribing library in Ireland, but members and nonmembers alike are welcome to access collections, view exhibits, browse the shelves, or visit with a friend in the coffee shop.

Thanks in part to the Library's connection with a broad spectrum of Belfast's organization and individuals, its collections have been built primarily through donations. According to Cash, the librarian purchases materials much less frequently now and only rarely attends auctions or purchases antiquarian items.[334] Even though a dependence on donations invites the possibility of unintended biases and gaps in the collection, the Library's politically diverse collection is a testament to its broad network of patrons. Unsolicited donations have remained a constant, spanning the worst of the Troubles to today's post-conflict country: As Cash explains, "people are a lot more comfortable donating their material now. As I said, years ago we would have gotten material from paramilitary groups and people who wouldn't have wanted to be known that they'd have left material at the door. A bit dodgy like in the 1970s! [laughs]. You know parcels being left!"[335]

As Northern Ireland continues the post-conflict transition, "engaged neutrality" has positioned the Library to play a critical role within Belfast and Northern Ireland. Nationally revered sites such as the Linen Hall Library offer continuity between the past

[334] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
[335] Ibid.

and present within the context of peacemaking—a critical role within post-conflict nations. As Nora tells us, memory "fastens upon sites," because that is where the past becomes linked to the present. [336] Writing in celebration of the Library's new extension in 2000, Nobel Laureate Seamus Heaney spoke of its vital role within Northern Ireland:

> […]the Linen Hall is not just a link with the past, though it is valuably and forever cherished as that, but a threshold to the future. A threshold for all to cross. That everybody is welcome in the building is one of the glories of the place and its tradition. In our cultural and our historical understanding the very words 'the Linen Hall Library' represent not just books, but better hopes for the way we live. For a just, civilised and inclusive society.[337]

It is a sentiment echoed by Northern Ireland First Minister Arlene Foster in her comments regarding the 'Divided Society' digitization project: "It ['Divided Society'] shows there is so much in our history that continues to impact on our present, but it can also provide important lessons and insights to help shape our future."[338] In this respect, the Library provides a unique instance of what Nora calls "a will to remember," wherein national veneration of the institution also helps reconcile the past and build a more peaceful future.[339]

IV. B. Roots in the Rebellion

Despite the Library's longstanding approach of "engaged neutrality," centuries of conflict and political division have shaped its present form. As shown in the opening anecdote, the political ramifications of the Library's work have long proven inescapable. "Engaged

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[336] Nora, "Between Memory and History," *Realms of Memory*, 19.
[337] Seamus Heaney, *Linen Hall Library NEWSLETTER* (Autumn/Winter 2000).
[338] Linen Hall Library Facebook post, 2 September 2016.
[339] Nora, "Between Memory and History," *Realms of Memory*, 15.

neutrality" has provided a means for the institution to remain true to its social conscience and guiding principles during periods of conflict. Furthermore, its core tenants of balance, inclusivity, and community-building have remained constant throughout years of political turbulence. The following historical sections will help to clarify how the Library's approach of "engaged neutrality" was born out of both the institution's enlightenment origins and its adaptation to centuries of political turmoil. The Library has had to weather both the pull of politics and extensive periods of violence and destruction in order to keep its doors open and serve the community. Its history has been one of navigating the political in a practical and productive fashion, so that it could become the present "threshold to the future" that Heaney describes.

In writing the *History of the Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Commonly Known as the Linen Hall Library* in 1888, John Anderson points out how the Library's originating ideology was a product of the city's political spirit at the time.[340] The "series of remarkable resolutions," as Anderson describes them, "passed on the 27th January, 1792, in favour of Catholic Emancipation, and extending the sympathy of the Members to the revolutionary movement at the time exercising so powerful an influence throughout Europe."[341] The resolution itself uses the kind of politically charged language one might expect from governors arrested a few short years later as revolutionaries:

> That Ireland can never deserve the name of a free State while a great majority of her Inhabitants enjoy the rights of citizens in so partial a manner; while they are totally Governed by the will of others; in a word, while they are unjustly excluded from all share in the making and the administration of the laws under which they live.[342]

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[340] John Anderson, *History of the Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, commonly known as the Linen Hall Library, chiefly taken from the minutes of the Society, and published in connection with the centenary celebration in 1888* (Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson and Orr, 1888).
[341] Anderson, *History of the Belfast Library*, 18.
[342] Qtd. in Anderson, *History of the Belfast Library*, 91-92.

The library society's resolution exhibits both the political nature of the Linen Hall Library's formation and the "keen political excitement" occurring in Belfast at the time.

Like the United Irishmen, the Library's ideological foundation stemmed from revolutionary France and America. Enlightenment principles, such as unfettered thought and equality, infused its original work. As explained by the Linen Hall Library's present-day deputy librarian, "It [the Library's reputation] really goes back to the Enlightenment roots. An institution that really came about by the Enlightenment […] it's always been a place where writers have met, where free-thinkers have met."[343] Even though the Library purchased books "on political and theological subjects"---and, as mentioned earlier, many of its members and governors were themselves fomenting rebellion---the Society itself chose to "prevent discussion of them in the society."[344] This curious decision might be seen as a foreshadowing of its later reputation as a neutral space within a very political city, wherein the radical politics of its governors might have otherwise precluded moderate or even conservative points of view from being aired in meetings. It also might have been born of political necessity, given the precariousness of the Library's survival post-rebellion. Whatever the cause, the resolution is indicative of both the power and danger of the politically incendiary materials the Library housed.

The Library strove to remain apolitical following the traumatic British crackdown on United Irishmen. As Cash relates, "after that [the hanging of librarian Thomas Russell] politics was banned for a long time in the library. So the subject of books on politics

[343] Monica Cash, Deputy Librarian of Linen Hall Library, interview with author, June 1, 2016, Linen Hall Library, Belfast, Northern Ireland.
[344] Qtd. in "History: A Radical Foundation 1788-1802," *Linen Hall Library*, accessed June 18, 2016, https://www.linenhall.com/pages/history.

would have been banned."[345] It was a pragmatic move, given the government's draconian response to anything resembling sedition. In describing the "collective amnesia" that followed 1798, historian Peter Collins writes,

> Even before the Rising, the ruthless, 'Dragooning of Ulster' by General Lake, a whirlwind of arms seizures, hangings, pitch-cappings and other tortures, had seared the collective psyche of many Presbyterians and others in the province. This was so extensive that many who sympathized failed to turn out in 1798. In the immediate aftermath of '98, there was a collective recoil from the shock of the disastrous events which, in only a few months, had led to some 30,000 deaths and the maiming, gaoling and exile of many thousands more. Hardly a family in certain areas in Ireland was left untouched.[346]

Undoubtedly, the Library's known association with revolutionaries would have made it particularly vulnerable to British forces policing the city. In this light, the Library governors' attempt to avoid any overt political materials or gestures was both an understandable response to the trauma of the conflict and a pragmatic form of self-preservation.

Despite the Library's efforts to remain apolitical throughout much of the 19th century, there is an indication that nationalists coopted the Library's reputation for the centenary of the 1798 rebellion. In 1892, the Library had to cede its first permanent home beneath the clock tower of the White Linen Hall to the construction of the present-day city hall in Belfast's center. As Alice Milligan and Anna Johnston's nationalist publication, the *Shan Van Vocht* reported in 1896, workers tearing down the "Old Linen Hall" discovered a "strongly worded declaration in favour of Ireland's independence sealed up in its foundation stone."[347] Milligan and Johnston would go on to note, "There is

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[345] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
[346] Peter Collins, *Who Fears to Speak of '98?: Commemoration and the continuing impact of the United Irishmen* (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 2004), 3.
[347] Alice Milligan, "Our Notebook," *The Shan Van Vocht: 1896-1899* (J.W. Boyd: Belfast, 1899) 1.2 (February 7, 1896): 34.

something solemn and almost eerie in the thought that the foundation stone of the building held this strange prophetic warning of after times, when an attempt might be made to encroach on the liberties of the country."[348] Real or imagined, the late nineteenth-century conjuring of the Library's rebellious history showed the impossibility of ever truly exorcising its political origins.

The political coopting of symbolic places and people in Northern Ireland continued into the late 20th century and beyond. Social anthropologist Elisabetta Viggiani observes how physical memorials in Northern Ireland produce a "temporal continuum between past and current phases of struggle."[349] As she explains, both republican and loyalists paramilitary groups drew on historical memory to validate their violent campaigns. The loyalist paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), for instance, named itself after the famous 1913 unit of the same name decimated at the Battle of Somme.[350] Furthermore, as historian Alvin Jackson explains, the "political melt-down of the 1970s and 1980s the militants of 1912-14 were not merely rhetorical tropes, but important exemplars […] [James] Craig and [Ian] Paisley resurrected the militants' brinkmanship; the loyalist paramilitaries [found inspiration in] the apocalypse of the Somme battlefield."[351] It was during this period, euphemistically known as the Troubles, that historical memory would help usher in an unparalleled period of violence and suffering in Northern Ireland.

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348 Milligan, "Our Notebook," 34.
349 Elisabetta Viggiani, *Talking Stones: The Politics of Memorialization in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Bergahn, 2014), 75
350 Ibid., 129.
351 Alvin Jackson, "Militant opposition to Home Rule: the after-life" in *From the United Irishmen to twentieth-century Unionism: A Festschrift for A.T.Q. Stewart*, edited by Sabine Wichert (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 186.

IV. C. "Carrying on" during the Troubles

As a well-known institution in the heart of Belfast during the Troubles, the Linen Hall Library once again found itself in the midst of conflict. It had to grapple with both the paramilitary violence happening in the city center and political pressure from the British government to shut down its Northern Ireland Political Collection. In annual reports from 1972 to 1977, Vitty describes both the physical toll taken on the structure and the professionalism of the staff that kept the library operating. The following entry from a 1974 annual report provides a window into the Library at the time:

> The Library was damaged on March 2nd when a bomb exploded in Fountain Street, shattering all the windows and doors and many window frames on that side of the building as well as some on the front […] Some glass was also broken by a bomb in Wellington Place on 25th July. The debris caused by these bombs was quickly cleared up by the Staff and my thanks are due once more to them for carrying on the work of the Library during yet another troubled year.[352]

Given the Library's vulnerability to bombings in the city center, Vitty ultimately decided to store "rare and valuable Irish material" in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.[353] Library staff and patrons would spend years enduring collateral violence from all sides of the conflict. The period would serve as a reminder to the Library of the inescapability of conflict and politics in Northern Ireland.

The damage, of course, went beyond falling plaster and broken windows, as the Library struggled to maintain some kind of normalcy amidst the armed conflict. Beginning in 1972, book circulation begins to drop—particularly within fiction and children's books—which Vitty attributes to "the fear of many people of visiting the centre

[352] Vitty, *Report of the Governors-Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge*, 1974, 7.
[353] Vitty, *Report of the Governors-Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge*, 1975, 7.

of Belfast in the present situation."[354] In this respect, the library's administration and staff faced both the obvious fear of working under the constant threat of violence and the stress of keeping the Library open and fiscally viable. In the 1975 report, the Library's treasurer notes, "[m]aintenance and repairs are also strictly watched and any job not urgent is being delayed but this will have to be paid for some day. 'Bomb Damage' does not of course come under this heading but is kept separate and claimed direct from the appropriate authority."[355] The reports also show how the upheaval stretched staff thin during this period, as a member had to be present at all times to examine visitors upon entering the library. These additional duties, coupled with having to clean up debris and search the building during bomb scares, placed the staff under a great deal of "nervous strain," with Vitty paying tribute to the "exemplary" work of library staff who were untiring in "carrying on the business of the Library."

A draconian governmental response to the violence added a political dimension to the Library's struggle, wherein it would have to navigate emergency measures counter to its mission and mandate. Despite such external pressures, the Library never deviated from "engaged neutrality," but rather continued to document the conflict through its Northern Ireland Political Collection. Following Ireland's partition in 1921, the Unionist government of Northern Ireland enacted legislation "to empower certain authorities of the Government of Northern Ireland to take steps for preserving the peace and maintaining order in Northern Ireland, and for purposes connected therewith."[356] The Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act provided special powers for "His Majesty's forces" in regard to a

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354 Vitty, *Report of the Governors-Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge*, 1972, 7.
355 David Montgomery, *Report of the Governors-Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge*, 1972, 7.
356 Great Britain, Parliament, Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act (Northern Ireland), 1922, accessed 4 August 2016, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/hmso/spa1922.htm

wide range of issues ranging from curfews and internment without trial to spreading rumors and public assemblies. Section 23 provides an example of both the law's reach and byzantine language:

> Any person authorized for the purpose by the civil authority, or any police constable, or member of any of His Majesty's forces on duty when the occasion for the arrest arises, may arrest without warrant any person whose behavior is of such a nature as to give reasonable grounds for suspecting that he has acted or is acting or is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the preservation of the peace or maintenance of order, or upon whom may be found any article, book, letter, or other document, the possession of which gives ground for such a suspicion, or who is suspected of having committed an offence against these regulations, or of being in possession of any article or document which is being used or intended to be used for any purpose or in any way prejudicial to the preservation of the peace or maintenance of order, […][357]

As the section suggests, the act—originally meant to last "for one year and no longer, unless Parliament otherwise determines"—left much to the discretion of security forces and, therefore, was open to misuse and abuse. Though meant to be a temporary measure, the Special Powers Act would last more than five decades before its repeal in 1973.

The British military and Royal Ulster Constabulary used the Act as a tool against the minority Catholic community. As Security Studies professor at King's College, Peter Neumann, points out, the Special Powers Act provided the "principal piece of legislation under which the security forces operated," and as such was too "abstract" to be useful in the field.[358] Neumann provides an example of the ambiguity of army declarations at the time: " '[W]e are not going to shoot at stone-throwers on sight, but the situation could arise in which someone…in a crowd throwing stones…would face the risk of being shot."[359] Failing to provide soldiers with clear guidelines, the Act led to instances of

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[357] Great Britain, Parliament, Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act (Northern Ireland), 1922
[358] Peter Neumann, *Britain's Long War: British Strategy in the Northern Ireland Conflict 1969-98* (Gordonsville, GB: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 55.
[359] Neumann, *Britain's Long War*, 56.

excessive force against Catholics, wherein innocent people were killed. Accordingly, its repeal became a core objective of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) upon its formation in January 1967. A NICRA flyer summarizing the powers given to authorities by the Act states, "It is clear that under the shadow of these powers normal political life is impossible. That for nearly half a century they has [sic] been administered by a sectarian police force sent their effect like a poison through the whole social structure."[360]

Even the Linen Hall Library's collection of political ephemera ran afoul of a Special Powers Act amendment prohibiting anyone "to print, publish, circulate, distribute, sell or offer or expose for sale, or have in possession for purposes of publication, circulation, distribution, or sale" materials advocating paramilitaries or other groups undermining law and order.[361] As Cash explains, "the Special Powers Act—part of it prohibited you from collecting anything anti-state or pro-paramilitary and at that time it looked like the Political Collection would have to close down because that was a lot of the material in it."[362] Librarian, John Gray provides more detail in his reflection on the events for the Library's newsletter:

> There was an occasion in 1971 when the police arrived at the Linen Hall Library one morning and announced that they would be back in the afternoon to seize the Northern Ireland Political Collection and to arrest the Librarian. The Library and the Librarian were fortunate that the Linen Hall's connections stretched from producers of the suspect material to the top echelons of the Unionist government. Suffice it to say that the promised afternoon raid did not take place, and the Library ended up with a letter specifically permitting it to collect contentious political material.[363]

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[360] NICRA, "The Special Powers Act," Box 2, Folder 27, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Archive, Northern Ireland Political Collection, Linen Hall Library.
[361] Donohue, *Regulating Northern Ireland,* 1102.
[362] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
[363] John Gray, "A View from the Linen Hall," *Linen Hall Library NEWSLETTER*, (November, 2005): 2.

As Gray's quotation reveals, the Library's unique network provided both the "contentious political material" and the political clout to shield it from governmental attempts to end its "engaged neutrality." Its reputation as a trusted repository among political figures of all stripes, coupled with its historical standing within the community, made this a truly unique archival space within Northern Ireland.

IV.D. Pierre Nora and *lieux de mémoire*

From 1984 to 1992, French historian Pierre Nora directed a groundbreaking multi-volume project entitled *Les Lieux de mémoire* (*Realms of Memory*). Under Nora's guidance, the project drew on the collective efforts of nearly 120 contributors to produce "a history of France through memory."[364] Nora argued that modern France is living in a time of the "acceleration of history," wherein the past has become "irretrievable" and memory no longer part of our lived experience. The opposition of "history" and "memory is central to Nora's work, with the former superseding the latter in modern society:

> Memory is life, always embodied in living societies and as such in permanent evolution […]. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory is always a phenomenon of the present, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past.[365]

[364] Nora, "Preface to the English-Language Edition," *Realms of Memory*, xviii.
[365] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (Spring, 1989): 8.

Nora bemoans society's willing disconnection from memory in favor of a cold, analytical and contained history. In fact, Nora views history as a destructive force "whose true mission is to demolish it [memory], to repress it [memory]."[366]

The traces of memory that remain can be found in what Nora calls *lieux de mémoire.* He defines *lieux de Mémoire* as "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community."[367] Therefore, such seemingly disparate things as France's revolutionary calendar, the funeral of French poet Paul Valéry, and the Archives Nationales all constitute *lieux de mémoire.* In the three volume English translation of Nora's work, he and his contributors explore selected instances of a *lieu de mémoire* categorized by type: "conflicts and divisions," "traditions," and "symbols." In the preface to the final volume, Nora explains that every *lieu de mémoire* "is symbolic by definition," and can be further categorized as either "imposed" or "constructed" symbols. While "official state symbols" provide the "purest" example of the former, constructed symbols are instances where "unforeseen mechanisms, combinations of circumstances, the passage of time, human effort, and history itself" transform seemingly common things into "durable symbols of Frenchness."[368] Ultimately, the concept of *lieux de mémoire* would itself become symbolic upon publication within what he terms France's "era of commemoration."[369]

Long regarded as a seminal figure in memory studies, information scholars have begun tapping into Nora's work to understand and interpret the archive. Archival theorists

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366 Ibid.
367 Nora, "Preface to the English-Language Edition," *Realms of Memory*, xvii.
368 Nora, "Introduction," *Realms of Memory,* vol. 3, X.
369 Pierre Nora, "The Era of Commemoration" *Realms of Memory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, vol. 3, *Symbols* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 614.

Eric Ketelaar and Terry Cook, for instance, both reference him in separate articles discussing the interplay of memory and archival repositories, while Hermann Rumschöttel refers to Nora in his article concerning the development of archival science as an academic discipline.[370] Additionally, Jeannette Bastian's "Flowers for Homestead: A Case Study in Archives and Collective Memory," looks to Nora and memory studies pioneer, Maurice Halbwachs, to analyze the relationship between collective memory and history.[371] Such archival interest in Nora is unsurprising given that his work often dwells specifically on archives. He writes:

> Modern memory is first of all archival. It relies entirely on the specificity of the trace, the materiality of the vestige, the concreteness of the recording, the visibility of the image […] The less memory is experienced from within, the greater its need for external props and tangible reminders of that which no longer exists except *qua* memory—hence the obsession with the archive that marks an age and in which we attempt to preserve not only all of the past but all of the present as well.[372]

Nora's antipathy towards today's archival impulse to collect everything mirrors the concerns of many within the profession. Richard J. Cox's "The End of Collecting: Towards a New Purpose for Archival Appraisal," for instance, concurs with Nora when describing how archivists often engage in "a sort of feeding frenzy in collecting."[373]

Nora does allow, however, that individual archives may be one of the "places, sites, [or] causes" that constitute a *lieu de mémoire*. In fact, Nora directly references how an archive is a purely material site that becomes a *lieu de mémoire* only if imagination

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[370] Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms," *Archival Science* 13 (2013): 95-120; Eric Ketelaar, "Archivistics Research Saving the Profession," *The American Archivist* 63, no.2 (Fall-Winter 2002): 322-340; Hermann Rumschöttel, "The Development of Archival Science as a Scholarly Discipline," *Archival Science* 1 (2001): 143-155.
[371] Jeannette A. Bastian, "Flowers for Homestead: A Case Study in Archives and Collective Memory," *The American Archivist* 72, no. 1 (Spring-Summer 2009): 113-132.
[372] Nora does acknowledge, however, that "older archivists knew that controlled destruction was the trick of the trade." Nora, "Between Memory and History," *Realms of Memory*, 8-9.
[373] Richard J. Cox, "The End of Collecting: Towards a New Purpose for Archival Appraisal," *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 293.

invests it with symbolic aura.'"[374] In other words, an archive serves as a *lieu de mémoire* when it signifies to society something more than the sum of its materials. Such an archive is paradoxically both the remains of an "affective and magical" age of memory and the "clearest expression of the terrorism" that displaced it.[375] Nora's work, therefore, offers a means for analyzing archives as symbolic sites as well as functioning institutions, and it helps to clarify the archive's complex relationship with its users and the general community.

IV.E. Linen Hall Library: a *lieu de mémoire*

Nora's *lieu de mémoire* thus provides a framework for interpreting the Linen Hall Library's overlapping practical and symbolic value to both Belfast, Northern Ireland and the wider world. The Northern Ireland Political Collection [NIPC], in particular, provides a unique and superlative window into the Library's local and global significance. By examining its political origins and continuing importance within post-conflict Northern Ireland, I intend to show how the NIPC exemplifies "engaged neutrality" wherein, as Nora describes, "memory is always a phenomenon of the present, a bond tying us to the eternal present […]."[376] Or, to put it in slightly different terms, I explore how the Library's

[374] Nora, "Between Memory and History," *Realms of Memory*, 14.
[375] Ibid., 8, 14.
[376] Nora, "Between Memory and History," *Realms of Memory*, 3.

approach goes beyond collecting the records of the past in order to document the "past within the present" happening outside its door.[377]

My analysis begins in 1968, when librarian Jimmy Vitty went to a local pub to have a lunchtime pint. While there, someone handed Vitty a civil rights leaflet. As Ms. Cash recalls,

> [H]e just thought that—he was going to throw away—a bit of ephemera, no use to me—and he looked at it and he thought, well, there was a certain sense to this and vibe in the city—well legend has it that he came back and he said to the rest of his staff and he said that if you come across anything like or in a similar vein, we'll get a box together and we'll throw the material into it.[378]

That box, of course, turned into the 350,000 items that now constitute the NIPC—"one of the most important on-going collections in any Irish library today."[379] Perhaps most important to the success of the burgeoning collection was that Vitty's "box" welcomed printed ephemera from all organizations regardless of their political views or ideologies. As former librarian John Killen tells it in his history of the Library, Vitty "realized that here was history in the making; and he was determined to collect all such material, from all sources and all sides."[380] In this respect, the collection itself would exemplify the Library's own commitment to balance and neutrality within an extremely political environment.

Vitty's development of the NIPC became the stuff of legends, with the story often told of library staff "actually climb[ing] over the barricades" to retrieve items for the collection.[381] While staff had to actively brave conflict zones to seek some materials, the

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[377] The full quotation comes from Nora's explanation of "rememoration", "a history that is interested in memory not as remembrance but as the overall structure of the past within the present: history of the second degree." Nora, "Preface to the English-Language Edition," xxiii.
[378] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
[379] John Killen, *A History of the Linen Hall Library* (Belfast: The Linen Hall Library, 1990), 227.
[380] Killen, *A History of the Linen Hall Library*, 227.
[381] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.

record creators themselves—be they paramilitary, civic, or police groups—often dropped-off or otherwise donated the bulk of the collection. Over 14,000 books, pamphlets and reports form the collection's core, with an additional 75,000 items of ephemera, paramilitary periodicals, political fiction, graphic material, press cuttings, and the archives of various political parties and activist groups.[382] Furthermore, the types of materials within the collection are as varied as the political perspectives represented. For example, Cash provides a description of the NIPC's unique physical artifacts:

> We have maps from the escape from the Maze [Long Kesh/Maze prison][383] and we also have another map that was a loyalist escape that didn't take place and, now these are just examples, we would have combs—you know the communications that came out from the prisons.[384]

These artifacts have been lent for exhibits in other cultural heritage institutions such as the Ulster Museum, which has served as "a great advertisement" for the Library and its work. In this instance, the sharing of NIPC artifacts serves both to strengthen the bonds between local institutions and to act as a kind of outreach—raising public awareness of the Library's materials and work.

Particular collections within the NIPC, such as the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Archives, are indicative of what might have been lost if Vitty and his staff had not chosen to actively document the conflict. Covering the full period of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association's (NICRA) existence from its founding in the 1960s to its conclusion in 1989, the archive consists of 31 boxes of ephemera, correspondence, photographs, newspapers, and various other materials. Madge Davidson, a NICRA employee, donated the sizeable archive, which includes a vast number of original documents. The

[382] Visit the Linen Hall Library website for a much more detailed overview of the Northern Ireland Political Collection holdings at https://www.linenhall.com/pages/ni-political-collection
[383] A notorious prison during the Troubles that housed paramilitary prisoners.
[384] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.

correspondence portion of the collection provides a glimpse into the inner workings of the organization while its publications, press releases, and newspaper pieces reveal its public image and objectives. Publications such as "What is NICRA?" and "How to discredit the Police-June 1969" are illustrative of the types of informational materials the organization produced. Press releases and informational leaflets are particularly valuable given their ephemeral nature and ability to provide a snapshot of the time. Such ephemera are indicative of Vitty's foresight when he plucked the civil rights leaflet from the pub and began the NIPC.

The NIPC's civil rights holdings are representative of the staff's commitment to developing, expanding, and even redefining the collection. As an "engaged" library, the Linen Hall has had to evolve along with the community it supports. "Obviously," as Cash points out, civil rights didn't stop when the civil rights organization stopped," and the Library continues to collect civil and human rights materials beyond the particular context of the Northern Irish Troubles. Tantalizingly, even within the NICRA collection itself there are files concerning Gay Rights and sexual discrimination, which is indicative of the organization's solidarity with other local and international human rights contexts.[385] Cash relates, for instance, how the Library collects records regarding the growing population of immigrants within Belfast, as well as material about the discrimination that accompanied their arrival.[386] In this respect, the NIPC's dynamism has taken the collection in directions unforeseeable from its original vantage point of sectarian violence between Catholics and Protestants.

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[385] According to the finding aid, Box 24 of the NICRA archive houses "Gay Rights material" and Box 21 holds materials concerning "Womens Issues-sex discrimination."
[386] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.

As a site of both symbolic significance and practical relevance to the community as a whole, a diverse range of patrons has drawn on the NIPC over the years. Historians and other academics represent only one of its many categories of users, as evidenced by an NIPC folder entitled, "A Selection of Quotations from leading academics, journalists, politicians, personalities and churchmen in praise of Northern Ireland Political Collection at Linen Hall Library." Within the folder, public figures as oppositional as Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams and Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party come together to praise the NIPC. Bishop Cahal B. Daly calls it a boon to the community, while James Molyneux, M.P., Leader of the Ulster Unionist Party relates how those engaged in current politics find the collection "of great benefit to our [politicians in Northern Ireland] everyday activities."[387] Alongside its social and political value to society, others comment on the edifying experience of visiting the NIPC on a personal level. For instance, Reverend Eric Gallagher notes that it forces one to see all sides of the conflict from each other's perspective. Sam Duddy of the loyalist paramilitary group, Ulster Defense Association, makes a similar observation when discussing "the meeting together—mostly by chance—of people of totally different persuasions who come down to browse and end up discussing the ongoing Ulster crisis."[388] The Library's physical space, therefore, mirrors its materials by creating opportunities to forge new connections—an important first step away from insularity, division, and conflict.

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[387] James Molyneaux, "A Selection of Quotations from leading academics, journalists, politicians, personalities and churchmen in praise of Northern Ireland Political Collection at Linen Hall Library," Northern Ireland Political Collection, Linen Hall Library.
[388] Sam Duddy, "A Selection of Quotations from leading academics, journalists, politicians, personalities and churchmen in praise of Northern Ireland Political Collection at Linen Hall Library," Northern Ireland Political Collection, Linen Hall Library.

As a *lieu de mémoire*, then, the influence of the Library and its NIPC has an extensive reach. Alongside the politicians and public personalities, "you might get," as Cash relates, "a school group in or you might get a pensioner's group in, [or] you might get a group of international students who are on a study trip."[389] The unique historical window offered by the NIPC resonates just as much, if not more, with everyday citizens. It's wide-ranging appeal and impact was on view at the 2001 "Troubled Images" exhibition, which I will discuss in greater depth in a later section. Remarking on the exhibit's success, then librarian John Gray noted the presence of "many casual visitors" alongside the relatives of "RUC widows, or relatives of Loyalist and Republican dead, or of other victims of the Troubles" —a group that tragically spans a large cross-section of both Belfast and the nation of Northern Ireland.[390]

Mirroring the country, the NIPC has undergone a fundamental change over the last two decades. Beginning in the late 1990s, library administration began to emphasize collecting conflict resolution material, as opposed to its originating focus on political conflict itself. The move was prescient given that more patrons today, particularly international visitors, come to learn about the peace process rather than the conflict itself.[391] As Cash observes, "It was always seen as the definitive archive of the Troubles but it is now the definitive archive of the Troubles **AND** [speaker places emphasis] the peace process."[392] Such sea changes are inherent to *lieux de mémoire*, which are nothing if not dynamic and bound up in the quotidian present:

> For although it is true that the fundamental purpose of a *lieu de mémoire* is to stop time, to inhibit forgetting, to fix a state of things, to immortalize death, and to

[389] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
[390] John Gray, "Introduction," *Linen Hall Library Newsletter* (Winter 2001), 2.
[391] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
[392] Ibid.

> materialize the immaterial […] it is also clear that *lieu de mémoire* thrive only because of their capacity for change, their ability to resurrect old meanings and generate new ones along with new and unforeseeable connections (that is what makes them exciting).[393]

By remaining attuned to shifts in Northern Ireland's political situation, the Library therefore continues to foster connections between its political past, present, and future.

In addition, a second major instance of the NIPC's "capacity for change" has only recently begun. In 2014, the Heritage Lottery Fund awarded the Library 400,000 Euro to digitize large portions of the NIPC. The project, entitled "'Divided Society': the Political posters and periodicals of Northern Ireland 1966-2016," will digitize over 6,000 political posters and periodicals from the beginning of the Troubles to today's post-conflict Northern Ireland. The undertaking places particular emphasis on "the period between the Downing Street Declaration and the signing of the Good Friday Agreement," which was when the peace process began to gain momentum and become a reality.[394] Along with making the collection more accessible, the Library also sees digitization as a means to "help protect its more fragile items, ensuring all content is conserved indefinitely."[395] This symbiosis between physical and digital objects parallels the Library's own ability to remain a venerated, fixed presence while acting as a fluid, agent of change.

Just as Nora's *lieux de mémoire* is fundamentally collective and social, "Divided Society" makes visible the bonds between the Library and its community. During the project's early stages, organizers sought out the city's various populations to hear their thoughts on its development:

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[393] Nora, "Between Memory and History," *Realms of Memory*, 15
[394] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016
[395] "HLF Announcement of grant for Linen Hall Library 'Troubles' history collection," *Linen Hall Library*, accessed August 30, 2016, https://www.linenhall.com/news/79.

> we did a lot of focus groups and we went back to different community organizations, I think about 12, so we went to organizations in North Belfast, West Belfast, we covered the political spectrum. We engaged with—for instance I think, up in Derry we spoke with a group of people, we also spoke to an Irish language group, just to get everybody's opinion and the one thing that did come out: everybody was interested to know what was happening.[396]

Community input and participation continue to be vital to the project's success. Part of its funding goes towards exhibitions and outreach with "an intergenerational reminiscence project asking members of local community groups to record their memories of significant events during the 'Troubles' stimulated by material from NIPC."[397] The project launched September 1, 2016 with the intent to provide "a different take on the subject of the Troubles and illustrate how images and slogans were used by all sides to grab attention, frighten, soothe, threaten, cajole and inform."[398]

Along with presenting a balanced view of the conflict, the Project also has worked to humanize the Troubles. As part of the "Divided Society" project, the Library hosted an exhibit in August 2007 entitled, "We Lived It—the Social Impact of the Troubles." The exhibit drew on artifacts from the NIPC to provide insight into what daily life was like during the Troubles. It includes such everyday items as key rings and t-shirts, as well as " 'Troubles-themed artwork" and a satiric "Northern Ireland political chess set" composed of caricatures of well-known figures.[399] MP3 players complement the exhibit's artifacts by playing oral histories from "people from all walks of life in Northern Ireland relaying their memories of difficult—and sometimes even humorous—time navigating through this very

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396 Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
397 Ibid.
398 "Northern Ireland History Digitistion Project Commences at the Linen Hall Library," last modified September 1, 2016, https://www.linenhall.com/news/194
399 "Linen Hall Launches New 'Troubles' Exhibition 'We Lived It," last modified August 7, 2017, https://www.linenhall.com/news/236

abnormal situation."[400] Along with providing insight into people's lives during the conflict, the Project also hosted the "'Divided Society'—Reminiscence" workshop, which offered the community a chance to gather in the Library "to discuss the project, listen to the oral archives and have an opportunity to put forward their own memories."[401] Both the exhibit and workshop offered a therapeutic opportunity for the community as a whole to gather and discuss their memories in an open and safe environment. In creating this opportunity, the Library both fostered a measure of present-day reconciliation and helped to preserve the story of the Troubles in all of its complexity.

IV. F. "Troubled Images"

An examination of the Library's "Troubled Images" exhibit provides a specific instance of "engaged neutrality" in practice, as well as highlights its potential to further social justice. The exhibit, which focused on political posters within the NIPC, traveled beyond Belfast to several international locations including past and present conflict zones. In librarian John Gray's opinion, the exhibit "has quite simply made the greatest impact of any Linen Hall exhibition, whether measured by the constant flow of visitors, or by extensive media coverage and well beyond these shores."[402] "Troubled Images" demonstrates how the Linen Hall Library's approach of "engaged neutrality" contributes both to the ongoing reconciliation effort in Northern Ireland and the global project of helping those nations transitioning from armed conflicts.

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[400] Ibid.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Gray, "Introduction," *Linen Hall Library Newsletter* (Winter 2001), 2.

Opening in 2001 with funding in part from Proteus (a checkpoint for European Union funding for Peace II initiative) and the United States Institute for Peace, the exhibition featured seventy posters culled from the almost 3,500 posters and artifacts in the collection. Beyond the exhibit itself, the project features the creation of a CD-ROM that "collates the most significant, memorable, and most provocative posters and other graphic images" from the exhibit, as well as the publication of a book featuring photographs of selected posters with annotations and essays. Yvonne Murphy, Librarian of the NIPC at the time, spearheaded both the exhibit and its global tour. Murphy's rationale behind the poster exhibit is grounded in the individual lives of those who made them: "We were acutely aware that the earliest posters in the political collection were nearly 40 years-old. It was important to tell the story of the posters, while those who produced them were still alive."[403] Telling the story of the Troubles, as Murphy puts it, relied on participation from each segment of society during the conflict. In the *Belfast News Letter*'s coverage of the exhibition's opening, Ms. Murphy relates how "[t]he project would not have been possible without the assistance and support of individuals right across the political spectrum."[404]

The funding and support were critical to the exhibit's success, especially given the Library's past financial hardships. While the NIPC evaded the Special Powers Act mentioned in an earlier section, it has been less successful in dodging the economic hardships within the country. By 1979, the library "had a crumbling and dangerous building, underpaid staff, a literally dying membership, and a minimal budget which still

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[403] Qtd. in Kieran McDaid, "Historic Images Tell Story of Troubles," *Irish News* (Belfast, Northern Ireland), October 10, 2001.
[404] Qtd. in Sinead McCavana, "A Trip Down a Troubled Memory Lane," *Belfast News Letter* (Belfast, Northern Ireland), October 10, 2001.

would not add up."[405] With the government threatening to remove the grant sustaining the institution, the Library was only spared by a last-ditch effort, the "Save the Linen Hall" campaign.[406] Even though the Library found itself in a much better financial footing for the next two decades, the NIPC in particular remained in the crosshairs of a turbulent economy. In a 2004 newsletter, Gray writes,

> These are difficult times for libraries. We struggle with our own bad news: we have now had to close the Northern Ireland Political Collection reading room and while a limited NIPC service will be available from the Irish and reference counter, there is no escaping the fact that for the moment we have had to partially mothball a unique part of our operation […] the damage is being done in an area that represents the Library's most serious purpose.[407]

Even though the NIPC would re-open on a part-time basis in April 2005, concerns over funding remain, like with most cultural heritage institutions, a perennial worry.

At the time of the exhibit, however, the staff's primary focus was balancing the various political and organizational viewpoints within the exhibit itself. Ms. Cash recalls the stress of hanging the exhibit so that posters were not juxtaposed in a fashion that could inadvertently offend. She cites "Troubled Images" as an example of an "equally balanced" exhibition:

> So you have your orange [color associated with unionism and loyalism], your green [color associated with nationalism and republicanism], your security forces, your paramilitary groups, your neutral, your peace process, and there was a lot of thought went into that, it wasn't just random because you have to be so important everybody is represented.[408]

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[405] Ibid.
[406] "About Us: History," *Linen Hall Library*, accessed September 4, 2016, https://www.linenhall.com/pages/history.
[407] John Gray, "View from the Linen Hall," *Linen Hall Library Newsletter* (November 2004): 2.
[408] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.

For instance, a poster featuring a masked IRA gunman with the warning, "Whatever You Say, Say Nothing," might share wall space with a poster of Ian Paisley, fist raised before a Union Jack flag, with the title "For God and Ulster."

The press praised the exhibit for tackling the country's most divisive historical chapter in such a balanced fashion. As Kieran McDaid of *Irish News* reported on October 10, 2001, "[t]he 70 posters on display illustrate differing experiences since the beginning of the troubles, and reflect all sides in the conflict." Other Belfast news outlets similarly complimented the exhibit, with the *Belfast News Letter* calling it "a unique exhibition." Perhaps most tellingly, the exhibit won the biannual Christopher Ewart-Biggs Literary Prize—named for the British ambassador to Ireland who was murdered by the IRA in 1976. One of the prize's objectives is "to recognize work that promotes and encourages peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland."[409] Speaking on behalf of the other judges, Professor Roy Carroll remarked, "Like the Library as a whole, this enterprise illuminates the complex web of attitudes and allegiances governing Northern Ireland's cultural and political inheritance. There could be no more worthy recipient of a prize promoting peace through understanding."[410]

The exhibit's long-term impact was global in reach. In 2002, the exhibit traveled to San Sebastian in Basque country, another region riven by political violence. During the visit, librarian John Gray visited the Basque equivalent of the NIPC and found similarities and differences between both the conflicts and their political materials.[411] Alongside the

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[409] "About the Prize," *Christopher Ewart-Biggs Memorial Prize*, Accessed September 12, 2016, http://www.ewartbiggsprize.org.uk/about-the-prize

[410] Qtd. in Joanne Mace, "Prestigious award for Linen Hall," *Irish News* (Belfast, Northern Ireland), March 29, 2003.

[411] For instance, Gray notes how the Basque posters "are more sophisticated and complex" than the ones in Northern Ireland.

"extraordinary attention" the Basque press gave the exhibit, Gray notes that "[t]hose newspapers which report our exhibition also report fresh killings and peace demonstrations. Their peace process has broken down."[412] In 2004, the president of the Library also noted the overlap between the exhibit's content and current political violence when speaking at the exhibit's opening in New York City. More specifically, he dwelled on the similarities between the just-released Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse photographs from the Iraq war and the horrific images broadcast from Northern Ireland in the past, adding, "[m]aybe other places in the world can learn from our experience."[413] Before its return to Northern Ireland, 'Troubled Images' would go to several more venues in the United States, as well as conflict zones such as Lebanon and the West Bank.

Overall, the exhibit, like the Library from which it sprung, succeeded in multiple respects. At the local level, it balanced the web of contentious perspectives on the conflict, as well as physically brought together diverse groups of people to view their shared history. At the global level, the exhibit's international tour both educated others about Northern Ireland's political history and invited parallels and lessons for other nations struggling to move beyond armed conflicts. In remarking on the success of the exhibit, Gray dwells on how "parties and groups right across the political spectrum broadly felt that what we had done in a potentially deeply controversial sphere was fair, and this in a context where we had insisted on providing some critical commentary."[414] He concludes with an observation that encapsulates the simplicity of how the Library

[412] John Gray, *Linen Hall Newsletter* (August 2002), 3.
[413] Sean O'Driscoll, "Iraqi Photos 'Similar to Ulster Images," *Belfast Telegraph* (Belfast, Northern Ireland), May 24, 2004.
[414] John Gray, "Introduction," *Linen Hall Library Newsletter* (Winter 2001): 2.

shapes and supports its city and nation: "Some found the exhibition space a space in which to talk, and to talk to others of very different backgrounds."[415]

IV. G. Summary

The Library signifies interconnectedness both within the city itself and the world at large. Writing in a 1984 issue of the *Linen Hall Review*, Gray observes, "We [the Linen Hall Library] are therefore, by the very fact of our existence a bulwark against those who would seek to impose on us, or on either community in the North, a tunnel vision view of the world."[416] Rejecting cultural insularity, the Library has constructed its collections to model a progressive Northern Ireland moving beyond sectarianism. Its symbolism as a site of peace and reconciliation extends internationally, as conveyed in the words of the United States Consul General Barbara Stephenson, on the first anniversary of the September 11th terrorist attacks: "I am grateful on this difficult day to be here, in the Linen Hall Library, among good people…I can think of no more comforting place to be on this first anniversary than right here, in this healing space, where everyone feels safe."[417] More recently, in the previously mentioned Arlene Foster commentary on "Divided Society", she mentioned how the digital project "is a useful reference point for others seeking to create conditions to explore divisive issues through peaceful means and to promote

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[415] Ibid.
[416] Gray, "View from the Linen Hall," *Linen Hall Review*, 1 no. 4 (Winter 1984): 3.
[417] Barbara Stephenson, "Extracts of remarks by United States Consul General, Barbara Stephenson, launching 'Headlines of History' on 11th September, 2002, Linen Hall Library," *Linen Hall Library Newsletter* (November 2002): 2

reconciliation."[418] Through a willingness to engage the thorny political dimensions of history, the Library serves as sanctuary and guide to both its own community and other nations embroiled in conflicts past and present.

As an exemplar of the Library's approach to archiving, the NIPC provides a point of comparison to the institutions I discuss in subsequent chapters. One obvious way the Library differs from other case studies is that its civil rights materials form part of a larger collection that is best known for materials related to political violence and peacemaking. The lack of a stand-alone civil rights collection differs from research sites in the American South, wherein multiple collections coalesce around the issue of civil rights and often serve as a focal point of the institution. The Linen Hall Library's decision is entirely understandable, given how the movement became subsumed into the tragic, decades-long narrative of the Troubles. Even though civil rights falls under this "broad brush of Northern Irish politics," Ms. Cash points out that it remains well represented in the NIPC in both volume and quality.[419]

There are also commonalities between the Library's work and other archival approaches to civil rights materials. While the policy of "engaged neutrality" is unique to the Library, it springs from the same rationale as the Mississippi Department of Archives and History's (MDAH) active and balanced approached to archiving. As a governmental institution, the MDAH engages political and social justice issues in as much as they fall within its state mandate. The indexing and digitization of the Sovereignty Commission records, which I will discuss in a later chapter, provides a well-known instance of the crucial social and civic part it plays within the state. Moreover, NIPC exhibits such as

[418] Linen Hall Library, Facebook post, September 2, 2016, https://www.facebook.com/search/str/linen+hall+library/stories-keyword/stories-public
[419] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.

"Troubled Images" share aspects of the advocacy work done at the Museum of Free Derry and the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. For instance, the BCRI's 2015 exhibit, "A Voteless People is a Hopeless People," mirrors the timeliness of "Troubled Images," in that it drew on the archival materials of an Alabama voting rights pioneer "as a means of examining the ongoing struggle for voting rights in the United States."[420]

In the specific case of the Linen Hall Library, "engaged neutrality" has provided a meaningful and productive way to engage Belfast's diverse communities under the most trying circumstances. The approach has allowed the Library to build a world-renowned collection of politically fraught material in Northern Ireland's ever-contentious political landscape. "Engaged neutrality," in its present form, developed as a natural outgrowth of the enlightenment principles upon which the Library was founded. As far back as 1792, the Society declared, "that civil and religious liberty is the birthright of every human being"[421]—a radical declaration of equality at the time that continues to guide the Library through the country's tumultuous history. As evidenced by the growth of the NIPC and the "Divided Society" digital project, the Library remains engaged in the social and political issues of the day without "fear or favour."

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[420] Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, "The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Presents 'A Voteless People is a Hopeless People: Alabama's W.C. Patton and the Struggle for voting Rights' June 16-September 20," accessed on December 12, 2016, https://birminghambusinessalliance.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/pattonformat.pdf.

[421] Qtd. in Anderson, *History of the Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge, Commonly known as the Linen Hall Library*, 91-92.

V. "A LIVING THING": ACTIVISM AND THE MUSEUM OF FREE DERRY

Upon entering the Museum of Free Derry's new facility, visitors soon encounter the English forces of Sir Henry Dowcra marching from their base of operations along Loch Foyle. It was here, that Dowcra discovered the ideal spot to begin a military colony amidst the hostile Gaelic chieftains and tribes of Ulster. Writing of the first time he saw Derry in 1600, Dowcra describes,

> A place in the manner of an Iland comprehending within its 40 acres of ground, wherein were the ruines of an old Abbay, of a bishopps house, of two churches, and at one side of an old castle; the river Foyle encompassing it all at one side, and a bogg, most comonlie wett, and not easily passable, except in two or three places, dividing it from the maine land.[422]

That "bogg, most comonlie wett" rested below what would become Derry's imposing city walls a little over a decade later. The walls were built to protect the ruling protestant community; the indigenous Irish community lived below the walls in the "Catholic ghetto" later known as the Bogside. As historian and archaeologist Brian Lacey relates, Derry/Londonderry in the early 18th century was "a colonial—indeed an 'apartheid'—society, governed either directly or indirectly by the Penal Laws which placed Catholics, and to a lesser extent non-conforming (ie, non-Anglican) Protestants, under severe legal pressures and discriminations."[423] By the mid-19th century, however, enough Catholics

[422] Qtd. in Arthur Gerald Geoghegan, "A Notice of the Early Settlement, in A.D. 1596, of the City of Derry by the English, to Its Burning by Sir Cahir O'Doherty, in A.D. 1608," *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, 4, no. 2 (1863), 393.
[423] Brian Lacey, *Discover Derry* (Dublin, The O'Brien Press, 1999), 39.

had moved to Derry to form a "clear but largely unenfranchised majority in the city"[424]—a population still oppressed when the civil rights campaign began in the 1960s.

The period commonly accepted as the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland—1964 to 1972—exists as just one chapter within the contentious and ongoing sectarian struggle in the country. To understand the movement, one must grapple with both the volumes of history before 1964 and the extensive, ever-unfolding epilogue to 1972. Untangling the years between necessitates a visit to the Museum of Free Derry in Glenfada Park, the Bogside area where British soldiers shot and killed four of Bloody Sunday's thirteen victims. I begin my analysis of the Museum by surveying its deep historical roots, which were integral to the formation of Free Derry and remain ever-present even in a post-Good Friday Agreement Northern Ireland. I then go on to examine how the Museum has repurposed archival materials for social justice through its foundational Bloody Sunday campaign and its permanent and temporary exhibits. Field research, an interview with the Museum's director, Adrian Kerr, and numerous primary and secondary sources inform my research. Michelle Caswell's *Archiving the Unspeakable* and Andrew Flinn's work regarding community archives and activism also shape my analysis.[425] Caswell's examination of how Cambodia's Documentation Center of Cambodia (DC-CAM) repurposed Khmer Rouge records for social justice provides a point of comparison for my research, while Flinn's analysis of community archives gives me a theoretical understanding of the archive's role within diverse types of people groups. Ultimately, I hope to show how the Museum of Free Derry has worked to further social

[424] Lacey, *Discover Derry*, 42.
[425] Andrew Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 28, no. 2 (October 2007): 151-176 and Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

justice both within Derry and around the world through its active repurposing of archival records.

V.A. The Bogside

According to Pauline Swords's study of community archives in Northern Ireland, "in no other region of the UK is the politicization of heritage and identity so consistently manifest at both an individual and a community level."[426] Understanding why, in Swords's words, "Ireland's communities have more impetus than most to define, redefine, and celebrate their heritage and identities" necessitates a long look back to 1607 with the defeat of Ireland's chieftains and the opening of Ulster for extensive English colonization. To facilitate its settlement, King James I had ordered the companies of London to develop the conquered territories. As Sean McMahon's *A History of County Derry* relates, "the idea was that, as part of their [the London companies] patriotic duty, they should provide enterprise capital for the development of a region that showed the greatest potential for profit."[427] The actual planters who built and worked the plantations with London capital, however, were from Scotland. Historian Tom Bartlett reminds us that Ulster plantations were unique from others in Ireland due to "a very strong Scottish involvement […] with just over half the main undertakers listed as being of Scottish origin."[428] The uniquely

[426] Pauline Swords, "Politics, Heritage, and Identity: Northern Ireland's Community Archives," in *Archives and Archivists 2: Current Trends, New Voices*, eds. Alisa C. Holland and Elizabeth Mullins (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 112.
[427] Sean McMahon, *A History of County Derry* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2004), 40.
[428] Tom Bartlett, "Politics and Society, 1600-1800," in *Ulster since 1600: Politics, Economy, and Society*, eds. Liam Kennedy & Philip Ollerenshaw (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 39.

Scottish character of the Ulster plantation would have repercussions from the 17th century to present-day.

As Presbyterian dissenters, the Scotts brought with them a faith central to their identity. Isolated on an island of English Anglican planters and native Irish Catholics, the Ulster Scotts developed what historian A.T.Q. Stewart called a "siege mentality."[429] As his groundbreaking examination of the historical roots and cycles of the Troubles reveals, "Since the settlers of the new plantation were at great pains to distinguish themselves, in religion and nationality if not in race from the Irish, they found themselves from the very beginning in a state of siege which has continued in one form or another ever since."[430] In truth, however, Stewart reminds us that the Scottish and Irish populations had an ancient history of migration, exchange, and invasion, with some of the planters being the "direct descendants of earlier Ulster invaders of Scotland."[431] Stewart's work shows how both historical and contemporary examinations of Northern Ireland should resist simple classifications of native, Irish Catholics and colonizing Scottish Protestants.

Colonizing the province also entailed the building of the new city of Londonderry, which was erected upon what remained of the Irish settlement of Derry—a name from the Irish word for "a place of oaks."[432] The King gave Londonderry "4,000 acres on the Donegal side of the river [Foyle]," wherein to develop the city. Its famous defensive walls were built around the city in the early 17th century and by 1641, "Derry became the largest town in the province and the showpiece with a population of 1,000."[433] McMahon goes on

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[429] A.T.Q. Stewart, *The Narrow Ground: The Roots of Conflict in Ulster* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), 46.
[430] Ibid.
[431] Ibid., 34.
[432] See, for instance, Geoghegan, "A Notice of the Early Settlement," for more information on both the etymology and ancient history of Derry.
[433] McMahon, *A History of County Derry*, 43.

to describe Derry as "shaped like a crushed diamond [with] four gates at the ends of the cross streets that intersected a square round the market house" with the Church of Ireland cathedral of St Columb situated at the highest point to serve as the "ultimate sign of London investment."[434] Its walls would protect Protestant refugees during Sir Phelim O'Neill's Irish rebellion in 1641 and keep King James II and his Catholic forces waiting out in the rain during the 1688 Siege of Derry—a victory that lives on in Protestant collective memory through their annual march around the walls to commemorate the "Apprentice Boys" shutting of the city's gates.

The "weak point in the city's defences," as Stewart points out, was always the Bogside.[435] From this Catholic section of the city just outside of the walls, any Irish force could launch an attack. In this respect, Stewart argues, the Protestants within were always under siege from the Catholics without. This made Derry unique in that it was unlike Belfast where "the Irish were eventually permitted to enter the city because they were at first a tiny minority in a Protestant hinterland, in Derry they were kept out just because the city dwellers were a minority in a predominantly Catholic population."[436] While the situation had a profound psychological effect on the planters within, life outside the walls had its own host of threats and deprivations. Bartlett writes of the toll taken upon the vulnerable population after failed Irish uprisings:

> As with the wars of the 1640s, Catholics everywhere in Ireland were the principal losers in the conflict […] New and stringent Penal Laws were enacted against those who remained. The Catholics of Ulster, already the least prosperous on the island, were completely cast down after 1690 […] It would be many decades before Catholics would exhibit signs of progress, or assertiveness. In the

[434] Ibid.
[435] Stewart, *The Narrow Ground*, 58.
[436] Ibid.

> meantime, Catholics avoided drawing attention to themselves, shunned controversy, and brooded over the wrongs inflicted upon them.[437]

Even though the Catholic Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791 eased penal legislation and allowed Catholics back into public life to some degree, economic hardships remained.

Centuries later, the Catholic population in Ulster remained an underclass with the Bogside, in particular, continuously mired in poverty and lack of opportunity. An 1833 Poor Law Commission Report describes conditions in the community:

> The lanes and streets are filled with filth; there are no sewers; no attention is paid to the ventilation of the houses, and the poor are obliged to buy even the water which they drink; […] many perish and those who survive are, in many instances, so debilitated as to become sickly and infirm at an early period of life.[438]

In this respect, life outside the walls was synonymous with squalor, poverty, illness, and exploitation—a situation that would continue and be exacerbated by the partition of Ireland. In the years following partition, Derry underwent an extended period of "rapidly accelerating underdevelopment," most acutely felt within the Bogside.[439] Poverty, blatant housing discrimination, and other grievances contributed to the violence that returned to the surface in the 1960s. In the eyes of Stewart and other historians, the Troubles were part of a "far older war" re-erupting from centuries of pressure on both of Derry's populations: "So the Bogside became Protestant Derry's bad dream […] Beneath the maze of streets the subterranean fire eternally smouldered, because the course of Irish history never created the circumstances in which it could die out."[440] 1969 would be the date that those fires became visible around the world in a shocking incident with profound effects for both Derry and Northern Ireland.

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[437] Bartlett, *Politics and Society 1600-1800*, 39.
[438] Qtd. in McMahon, *A History of County Derry*, 79.
[439] Russell Stettler, *The Battle of the Bogside: The Politics of Violence in Northern Ireland* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1970), 9.
[440] Stewart, *The Narrow Ground*, 59.

V.B. The Battle of the Bogside and the Creation of Free Derry

A community, according to Andrew Flinn is "a group who define themselves on the basis of locality, culture, faith, background, or other shared identity or interest."[441] The Catholic/Nationalist population of Derry—located predominantly in the Bogside, Creggan, and Brandywell neighborhoods—has long been a coherent community joined by each of Flinn's criteria. The 20th century story of that community is intertwined with that of Northern Ireland's civil rights struggle. The movement came to maturity in Derry due to the city's flagrant discrimination against Catholics, and it was within Derry that the world first caught a glimpse of the escalating violence in Northern Ireland. Even though 67 percent of Derry's population was Catholic, gerrymandering kept the Protestant power structures in place, allowing for discrimination in housing, employment, and voting. More assertive and better educated than previous generations of Derry Catholics, its citizens began to demand recognition of their rights to housing and representation. The first stirrings had begun in Dungannon in 1963 with the work of Dr. Conn McClusky and his wife Patricia. Noting the correlation between the poor health of patients and their inadequate housing, the McCluskys founded the Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland (CSJ) and began keeping statistics of discrimination. As civil rights campaigner, Austin Currie, would later right, "By recording statistics such as this, the McCluskeys

[441] Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives," 153.

became the parents of the civil rights struggle in Northern Ireland; John Hume and I, and the other civil rights leaders, were their children."[442]

Inspired by Martin Luther King's march from Selma to Montgomery, a civil rights group called the People's Democracy led a march from Belfast to Derry in January, 1969. According to Munck, the People's Democracy "played a crucial role in radicalizing the civil rights movement but also shared much of its ideology," as opposed to the republicans and communists.[443] The arduous march underwent three days and 70 miles of assault by loyalists and security forces before arriving at Burntollet bridge with a police escort. Russel Stettler's 1969 *The Battle of the Bogside* offers a description of the violence awaiting them:

> The attackers [Paisleyites and security forces] carried heavy clubs and planks with protruding nails. Some threw huge rocks down from the hilltop. They completely disrupted the march, which was unarmed and outnumbered, pursued the marchers long distances, threw some into a nearby stream, and left others lying injured in the fields. Throughout the attack, the police either stayed in their tenders […] stood by and watched, or actively joined in the attack. [444]

The brutality sparked outrage in the Bogside, leading to rioting and the erection of barricades.

The area behind the barricades became known as Free Derry—a name inspired from the Berkeley sit-in protests and immortalized on a gable wall at the corner of Lecky Road and Fahan Street. Political activist, Paddy 'Bogside' Doherty, explains Free Derry's geographical boundaries:

> Free Derry encompassed the Bogside, the sprawling Creggan housing estate, the more compact Brandywell and a small middle-class area. The territory held by the

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[442] Austin Currie, "Civil Rights Movement," in *John Hume: Irish Peacemaker,* eds. Seán Farren and Denis Haughey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016), 59.
[443] Ronnie Munck, "The Making of the Troubles in Northern Ireland," *Journal of Contemporary History* 27.2 (Apr., 1992), 218.
[444] Stettler, *The Battle of the Bogside*, 47

> rebels roughly corresponded to the South Ward, which had been set up by the Unionist administration to contain the Catholic population of the city. The newly liberated territory measured 888 acres and two roods, or roughly one and a half square miles. By gerrymandering the city for over half a century, the Unionist had inadvertently created an Achilles heel for themselves.[445]

Free Derry operated outside of security forces and even broadcasted its own radio station from the Rossville Street Flats. In so doing it created what cultural and media theorists Tom Herron and John Lynch describe as "self-generated structures of communication and new networks of information" that flowed free of Northern Irish power structures.[446] Free Derry's political autonomy made it both an embarrassment and a danger to the state.

Riots, marches, and civil rights sit-ins had become commonplace through the summer of 1969, and the city seemed ripe for conflict by the time the Apprentice Boys march arrived in August. Every 12th of August the Apprentice Boys of Derry have marched the city's walls to commemorate the Protestant victory over the besieging Catholic forces. Although the march was initially friendly between the two populations of Derry, it had become by 1969 what the critic Conor Cruise O'Brien termed an "annual triumphal circuit," wherein participants "toss pennies down from the walls into the poverty of Derry's great Bogside ghetto."[447] Resentful of the sectarian march and the government that allowed it to go forward, Bogsiders began throwing stones. The police responded with a baton charge and what became known as the "Battle of the Bogside" commenced.

Bogsiders threw petrol bombs at the RUC, which eventually led police to push through the make shift barriers and position themselves for an assault on Free Derry.

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[445] Qtd. in Tom Herron and John Lynch, *After Bloody Sunday: Ethics, Representation, Justice* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2007), 18.
[446] Herron and Lynch drew on Hakim Bey's *The Temporary Autonomous Zone* here to discuss the nature of Free Derry. Herron and Lynch, *After Bloody Sunday*, 18.
[447] Conor Cruise O'Brien, "Holy War," *The New York Review of Books*, November 6, 1969, 12.

Stettler relates how "a cruel stalemate persisted," wherein the RUC now had one hundred casualties and lacked the manpower to continue engaging the Bogsiders. In lieu of reinforcements, the RUC obtained approval to fire CS gas (tear gas) into the Bogside. The gas blanketed the Bogside with around 200 cartridges fired throughout the night on the 12th.[448] As the next day unfolded, Bogsiders readied "bathtubs full of petrol" for bomb making, along with "other defensive implements of ingenious design […] from simple wooden planks studded with nails to lacerate tyres of invading vehicles to 'spiders', two foot-six inch steel cylinders with steel spikes welded to the sides."[449] Civil rights and republican demonstrators, along with some armed IRA members, marched on police stations around the country to keep reinforcements from joining the battle.

The barricades would stay up until their eventual replacement by a symbolic white line, and, for the moment at least, Free Derry celebrated with a Freedom Fleadh (Irish for festival). Although the battle had ended, those in the Bogside still had to contend with the lingering effects of CS gas. Many flats were now uninhabitable and those with pre-existing conditions such as asthma and chronic bronchitis were particularly vulnerable to ongoing complications from exposure.[450] The Himsworth Report on the effects of CS gas on the Bogside categorically denied any long-term effects. Stettler's study, however, challenges those findings, citing issues with methodology and rigor. As he laments, "[u]nhappily, the Himsworth Report is likely to be remembered in Northern Ireland as simply one more in a long line of official reports hastily produced and indifferent to the

[448] 1,147 canisters would be fired into the Bogside before the conflict concluded
[449] Stettler, *Battle of the Bogside*, 90.
[450] Ibid., 134-156.

views of the minority population."[451] Stettler's words were prescient given the injustice to follow Bloody Sunday only a couple of years later.

V.C. Bloody Sunday and its Aftermath

Though the Bogside community has slowly been shaped by centuries of conflict and political turmoil, its most traumatic and impactful event happened in a manner of minutes. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) march that began on January 30, 1972 was a non-violent expression of resistance, protesting interment without trial and the Special Powers Act generally.[452] Internment without trial was a particularly egregious affront to Catholics wherein security forces had taken hundreds of people from their homes and locked them in prison camps for indeterminate periods. The march began in the mid-afternoon with accounts varying widely of the number of participants; the Widgery report states there were 3,000 to 5,000 marching while others put the numbers much higher. Among those participating and scheduled to speak at the Free Derry rally at march's end were well known and respected figures such as Lord Fenner Brockway, Presbyterian minister Terence McGaughey and Bernadette Devlin, MP for Mid-Ulster. Although originally planned to proceed through Guildhall Square, the symbolic seat of Protestant power, organizers opted to limit the march to the Creggan and Bogside communities before terminating at Free Derry Corner. While most marchers followed the organizers' instruction to turn right at Rossville Street to proceed to the meeting, some

[451] Ibid., 142.
[452] See the Linen Hall chapter for more information on the Special Powers Act.

continued along William Street to the British barricade and began pelting British soldiers with stones, bottles, and insults. The soldiers responded with rubber bullets and gas in a typical response to rioting in the city.

Soon, however, the British soldiers began firing live rounds. The first shots, which wounded Damien Donaghy and John Johnston, were fired away from the rioting at the barricade and the meeting at Free Derry corner. Shortly after that the 1st Battalion Parachute Regiment were ordered to begin arresting the rioters on William Street. As things seemed to be quieting down with the majority of people moving towards the meeting, paratroopers rushed into Rossville Street and began shooting into the crowd. The assault lasted approximately 30 minutes, leaving 13 dead and 14 wounded (Johnston would die in June raising the number of fatalities to 14). Victims ranged in age from 15 to 59 and were all from the local Bogside and Creggan area. No soldiers were injured in the assault, which had primarily taken place in the area around Rossville Flats and Glenfada Park—the future site of the Museum of Free Derry. Although the paratroopers claimed to be responding to a sustained assault by firearms and nail-bombs, no guns or bombs were ever found in the area of the shootings. Furthermore, no eyewitnesses, including an Italian journalist and Lord Brockway, saw any of the victims using a weapon of any kind. Shock and disbelief settled on the community as people struggled to comprehend why this had happened.

The British Home Secretary and Ministry of Defense both issued statements defending the soldiers' actions as only targeting active gunmen and bombers. The British Prime Minister appointed Lord Widgery to begin a formal inquiry into what happened. Meanwhile, the island of Ireland mourned with prayer services and marches as many of

the dead were buried. In Dublin, 100,000 people marched on the British embassy, which would lie in ashes by nightfall. Widgery held most of his inquiry in Coleraine, County Derry (not Londonderry itself for "reasons of security and convenience") with a few later sessions taking place at the Royal Courts of Justice in London. The inquiry ran from the 21st of February to the 20th of March, entailing 20 sessions and 114 witnesses. Widgery submitted his report to the Home Secretary on the 10th of April and the *Report of the Tribunal appointed to inquire into the events on Sunday, 30th January 1972, which led to loss of life in connection with the procession in Londonderry on that day* (or, as is commonly known, the Widgery Report) was published a little more than a week later. His "Summary of Conclusions" begins by first blaming the civil rights march itself for the violence that day: "1. There would have been no deaths in Londonderry on 30 January if those who organised the illegal march had not thereby created a highly dangerous situation in which a clash between demonstrators and the security forces was almost inevitable."[453]

Despite some concessions as to the military's misjudgments and errors, Widgery finds overwhelmingly in favor of the soldiers. His final summations shift the culpability from the soldiers to the victims:

> 10. None of the deceased or wounded is proved to have been shot whilst handling a firearm or bomb. Some are wholly acquitted of complicity in such action; but there is a strong suspicion that some others had been firing weapons or handling bombs in the course of the afternoon and that yet others had been closely supporting them.
> 11. There was no general breakdown in discipline. For the most part the soldiers acted as they did because they thought their orders required it […][454]

[453] The Rt. Hon. Lord Widgery, Report of the Tribunal appointed to inquire into the events on Sunday, 30th January 1972, which led to loss of life in connection with the procession in Londonderry on that day, H.L. 101, H.C. 220 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972), accessed 25 October 2016, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/hmso/widgery.htm>
[454] Ibid.

These statements encapsulate Widgery's approach to the truth, wherein his conclusions were, in his words, "gradually built up over many days of listening to evidence and watching the demeanour of witnesses under cross-examination"—an approach that unsurprisingly privileged the paratroopers over those whom he already had a "strong suspicion" had fired first on the soldiers.

McCann and others have suggested that Widgery's report might be more than the result of an intended or unintended bias. As he concludes in a chapter entitled, "Whitewash:"

> The inconsistencies, illogicalities and untruths in the report cannot be attributed to the inability to discover and tell the truth. The distance between the report and reality yawns far to widely for that. It is a politically-motivated unwillingness to tell the truth, not an inability to see the truth, which explains the Widgery Report.[455]

According to McCann, Widgery at times discounted the testimony of eyewitnesses and ignored occurrences that did not exonerate the paratroopers among other inconsistencies. Evidence suggesting an intentional government cover-up was unearthed in a Public Records Office of Northern Ireland document, in which the Prime Minister, Edward Heath, tells Widgery before the inquiry to remember "that we were in Northern Ireland fighting not just a military war but a propaganda war."[456] It would be decades before the truth of what occurred on Bloody Sunday would become widely known and acknowledged.

V.D. The Fight for Justice

[455] McCann, *Bloody Sunday in Derry*, 129.
[456] Qtd. in Cillian McGrattan, *Memory, Politics and Identity: Haunted by History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 74.

In playwright and Derry native, Brian Friel's 1974 play about the dual injustices of Bloody Sunday and the Widgery Report, the main characters are shot for no greater crime than occupying the Guildhall—a testament to its symbolic significance in the city.[457] It was, therefore, a powerful moment on June 15, 2010 when a surreptitious thumbs up from a Guildhall window signaled to the crowd below that the new twelve-year inquiry into Bloody Sunday had finally brought vindication and a measure of justice to the Bogside. The road to that day's Guildhall reading of the Saville Inquiry into Bloody Sunday was both long and uncertain. Spearheaded by the families of victims, the formal campaign began belatedly in 1989 with the creation of the Bloody Sunday Initiative (BSI), which, in the words of campaigner Tony Doherty, formed "to focus national and international attention on Bloody Sunday as a justice issue."[458]

The Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign (BSJC) later superseded the Initiative in 1992, predicating itself on three core demands:[459] "the repudiation of Widgery and institution of a new inquiry; a formal acknowledgement of the innocence of all the victims; and the prosecution of those responsible for the deaths and injuries"[460] Journalist and Bloody Sunday Trust member Julieann Campbell's history of the BSJC clarifies that the group had no alternative political agenda outside its stated objectives—a critical assertion given the potential for the campaign to be dismissed as a nationalist exercise.[461]

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[457] Brian Friel, *The Freedom of the City* (London: Faber, 1974). Thomas Kinsella's direct response to Widgery in his poem, "Butcher's Dozen: A Lesson for the Octave of Widgery" provides another well known example of an artist grappling with Bloody Sunday.
[458] Julieann Campbell, *Setting the Truth Free: The Inside Story of the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign* (Dublin: Liberties Press, 2012), 31.
[459] The BSI would continue with a focus on human rights in general and would later be renamed the Pat Finucane Centre for Human Rights and Social Change.
[460] Campbell, *Setting the Truth Free*, 39.
[461] Ibid.

The voices of those involved in the more than twenty-year campaign are front and center in Campbell's book, providing a glimpse into the sacrifice and determination of a truly grass roots effort for justice. Even though the families at the heart of the BSJC often disagreed and clashed behind the scenes, they publically presented a united front that very slowly grew support from the political establishment of Ireland and, much later, the United Kingdom.

Thanks in large part to the BSJC's tireless advocacy, Tony Blair announced to parliament the establishment of a new inquiry into Bloody Sunday in 1996. "Bloody Sunday was a tragic day for all concerned," he stated, "Our concern now is simply to establish the truth, and close this painful chapter once and for all."[462] English Law Lord, Mark Saville, would chair the inquiry composed of himself and justices Hoyt and Toohey of Canada and Australia respectively. Even though the inquiry would be held in the Guildhall in Derry, the soldiers won an appeal to testify anonymously in England due to the danger of paramilitary retribution. During the course of the inquiry, over 900 witnesses gave evidence, including soldiers, government officials, journalists, police officers, and civilians. The inquiry would take 12 years from its announcement to the publication of its findings, the longest inquiry in British history at a cost of 195 million.

Despite the stir created by its unforeseen length and gargantuan cost, the inquiry's significance cannot be overstated. For the families, it was vindication after decades of loss and struggle to overturn a great injustice against their loved ones. For Derry and Northern Ireland, it was a necessary step towards paving the way for the peace process. Campbell observes that the "prospect of a new inquiry had regularly featured in the talks

[462] "Statement by Tony Blair, then British Prime Minister, made to the House of Commons, establishing a new Inquiry into 'Bloody Sunday', (Thursday 29 January 1998)," accessed November 16, 2016, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/bsunday/tb29198.htm>

which were to go ahead to the Good Friday Agreement. It was evident, particularly to the nationalist population, that action on Bloody Sunday was necessary to facilitate a successful and lasting peace process."[463] The Saville Report also had its shortcoming, such as its inexplicably finding that Gerald Donaghey did, "in all probability," have nail bombs on his person even if he posed no threat to British forces. Donaghey's qualified innocence was a blow to both his family and the campaign. Despite its shortcomings, however, the report represents a victory for the people of Derry the historical record will now show, in Prime Minister David Cameron's words, that the soldiers' actions were "unjustified and unjustifiable:"

> The firing by soldiers of 1 PARA on Bloody Sunday caused the deaths of 13 people and injury to a similar number, none of whom was posing a threat of causing death or serious injury. What happened on Bloody Sunday strengthened the Provisional IRA, increased nationalist resentment and hostility towards the Army and exacerbated the violent conflict of the years that followed. Bloody Sunday was a tragedy for the bereaved and the wounded, and a catastrophe for the people of Northern Ireland.[464]

On June 15, 2010, the families of the Bloody Sunday victims literally and figuratively tore up the Widgery report forever.

V.E. The Bogside's Museum

Saville's findings were a public confirmation of the Bloody Sunday story that the BSJC had been telling for years via its Museum of Free Derry. After the Saville Inquiry,

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[463] Campbell, *Setting the Truth Free*, 135.
[464] The Rt Hon Lord Saville of Newdigate, The Hon William Hoyt OC, The Hon John Toohey AC, *Principle Conclusions and Overall Assessment of the Bloody Sunday Inquiry* (London: The Stationery Office, 2010), 58.

however, the Museum's version of Bloody Sunday had shifted from what Aleida Assmann terms "counter-memory" to "normative memory."[465] As Assmann explains, "In the transition process, the repressed voices of the victims move from oblivion to the centre of society. Individual memories of the victims create a new authoritative account of the nation's past […]."[466] Even though what the Museum communicates is now "normative memory" its advocacy for social justice continues. Kerr explains,

> if we don't play a part in using lessons from that history, using what we've learned to try an impact others and to highlight other events, when we've failed in our mission. It's one thing to record Bloody Sunday as an example of state violence—the most extreme example I think we've faced over here in recent memory, but if we don't remind people that it's still happening in the world today we're falling short.[467]

As Kerr makes clear, a part of the Museum of Free Derry's mission will remain "counter-memory" as long as injustice—in all its multiple and shifting forms—continues both in Northern Ireland and around the world.

Along with providing a means for Free Derry to communicate its story, the Museum has served as a repository for the community's stories, records, and evidence of what occurred on Bloody Sunday. The artifacts—donated by the people of the area—number over 20,000 and collectively tell the story of the Free Derry period of 1969 to 1971. By 2015, the Museum had introduced more than 150,000 visitors from around the globe to their community's story and struggle. As a self-described "openly subjective museum," the Museum of Free Derry unapologetically tries for neither balance nor

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[465] Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt, introduction to *Memory and Political Change*, eds. Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011), 8.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Adrian Kerr, manager, Museum of Free Derry, interview with author, March 22, 2017.

objectivity.[468] Rather the Museum's administrators see its approach as a more effective and honest way to communicate its message and remain grounded in the community. As a part of the BSJC, the Museum's purpose has been "to be an active part in the process of resolution and reconciliation, not just a passive window on the past."[469] It is a facility active within the Bogside and its surrounding Catholic/Nationalists neighborhoods and, in the words of its manager, Adrian Kerr—"a living thing, a breathing thing."[470]

An extensive archive makes the museum's work possible. Consisting of 25,000 to 30,000 individual items, it provides the content for most if not all of the museum's exhibits. Most materials are donated from within the community itself, while others—such as an enormous, hard copy of the full Saville Inquiry—have arrived from external sources.[471] Speaking of the role of the archive within the museum, Kerr notes, "people see the museum and they see the exhibition and they see the story but it's the archive behind it, that's what keeps it going."[472] In fact, Kerr points out that the archive and museum are "two sides of the same work." He explains, for instance, that while a "20-page document from 1971 outlining the British army's plans to smash Free Derry is a really, really interesting document in an archive [it is] Not so interesting in a museum."[473] A museum exhibition might, therefore, draw instead on a historically important or evocative object to communicate its story. In her visit to the Museum, museum studies professor Elizabeth Crooke observed how "[c]ollectively the objects capture and represent the experiences,

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[468] Adrian Kerr, "Sitting on the Fence…What's the Point?" in *Museums of Ideas: Commitment and Conflict: A Collection of Essays* (Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2011), 430.
[469] Kerr, "Sitting on the Fence," 431.
[470] Adrian Kerr, Manager, Museum of Free Derry, interview with author, March 22, 2017.
[471] Kerr, interview with author, March 22, 2017.
[472] Ibid.
[473] Ibid.

stories and memories of communities families and individuals."[474] The same could be said of the Museum's records, with both the museum and archive serving separate yet complimentary functions in fulfilling the museum's mission.

While in the past researchers were able to view materials in Kerr's office, anything not on display in the museum has been inaccessible during the years-long move into new facilities. Reflecting on the devoted archival space within the new building, Kerr notes that "[a]t the minute and for the last number of years, we've only been able to do one side of that [the museum's] work. Now it's time to do the next part as well."[475] The second floor of the museum remains under construction but will house both the reading room and the archive. When the collections arrive at the new facility, they will begin a long re-cataloging and digitization process. Kerr explains that the original cataloging done on some 70 to 75 % of the collection is inadequate for plans moving forward:

> I think really when we start to bring the archive down and re-catalog it the best idea is to start from zero. I'm going to treat it as a 100% backlog and re-catalog the entire collection. It will take years of work—involve a lot of people, a lot of time but will be worth it in the end."[476]

In the meantime, the museum relies on the displayed artifacts and records to communicate Free Derry's story and puncture any lasting misconceptions of what occurred on Bloody Sunday.

Michelle Caswell's research into Cambodia's DC-CAM provides a helpful analog for pinpointing the Museum's purpose and place within the community. DC-CAM was founded in 1995 with the ongoing aim of helping "Cambodians heal the wounds of the

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[474] Elizabeth Crooke, "The Material Culture of Conflict: Artefacts in the Museum of Free Derry, Northern Ireland," in *Narrating Objects, Collecting Stories*, ed. Sandra H. Dudley et. al. (New York: Routledge, 2012), 28.
[475] Ibid.
[476] Ibid.

past by documenting, researching, and sharing the history of the Khmer Rouge period."[477] Though internationally funded, DC-CAM's director and staff are all Cambodian, with its director, Youk Chhang, being a survivor of Khmer Rouge torture.[478] It is the largest repository of Khmer Rouge records in Cambodia, with many materials now accessible internationally through the archive's digitization, publications, and public displays.[479] Furthermore, DC-CAM has been a source of evidence for a joint Cambodian/UN tribunal for senior Khmer Rouge officials suspected of committing "crimes against humanity, war crimes, and, in some cases, genocide."[480] Caswell examines the DC-CAM and its work through the lens of archival theory, focusing on issues of evidence, power, historical production, and absences within the official record.[481] In her analysis of the archival process in Cambodia, Caswell points out "the creation of archives is inextricably linked to both the assembly of facts and the formation of political power."[482]

For the BSJC, the creation of an archive meant reclaiming the power to tell its own story in its own way on the very spot where events happened. Like the DC-CAM, local people from Derry staff the museum, with the sole exception being its manager, Adrian Kerr, who is from a nearby town in Northern Ireland. Its facility rises organically out of Glenfada Park—one of the sites where British soldiers opened fire on Bloody Sunday, injuring three and killing two, William McKinney and Jim Wray. A mural depicting civil rights marchers holding a banner reading, "Anti Sectarian," abuts the facility, while the Bloody Sunday Memorial and famous "Free Derry" wall are just steps away around the

[477] "Purpose," *DC-CAM,* accessed April 16, 2017, http://www.dccam.org/#/our_mission/purpose
[478] Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable*, 9.
[479] Ibid.
[480] Ibid.
[481] Ibid., 7.
[482] Ibid., 62.

corner. In his discussion of the Bloody Sunday memorial, sociologist Brian Conway observes the museum's interconnection with the murals, memorials, and historical sites that collectively form Free Derry corner: "The memorial and Museum of Free Derry museum across the road, located within clear view of each other, now work together to shape the meaning of the Bloody Sunday story for new audiences including tourists, visitors and political luminaries." He goes on to mark the differing functions of Free Derry corner's sites, noting that the museum "chronicles what happened on Bloody Sunday and preserves archival material related to it and other local events," as opposed to the memorial that serves as "the focus of ritual commemoration."[483] The museum plays an integral part in preserving the community's historical record and identity, working in tandem with the memorials of Free Derry Corner to communicate their story to the people of Northern Ireland and the world.

Some of the material within the Museum of Free Derry arrived as the result of the campaign's tenacious archival research in Northern Ireland and England to bolster the case for a new inquiry into Bloody Sunday.[484] Patricia Coyle, a solicitor at Belfast's Madden and Finucane law firm—Pat Finucane being a human rights solicitor slain by loyalist paramilitaries in 1989—worked on behalf of the BSJC, scouring libraries and archives in Northern Ireland for documentary evidence related to the Widgery Report. Primary documentation of the inquiry was surprisingly difficult to locate, particularly in the largely pre-Internet early '90s.[485] Often key documents were located serendipitously, such as when a bag full of 1972 eye-witness statements were found under the stairs of civil rights

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[483] Brian Conway, *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday: Pathways of Memory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 58.
[484] For an excellent narrative of the BSJC's archival work and discovery, see: Campbell, *Setting the Truth Free*, 66-110.
[485] Ibid., 68.

activist Brigid Bond's house. As Campbell relates, the statements had been "collected, typed out and submitted to the original tribunal but Widgery chose to ignore them on the basis that they had arrived too late."[486] Other records had been buried in a garden across the Irish border for safekeeping after being rejected by the Inquiry. The witness statements would later prove pivotal in the battle to unseat Widgery's verdict.

Caswell's analysis of the DC-CAM clarifies how records can be redeployed for social justice. DC-CAM weathered attacks from a variety of fronts, including "Khmer Rouge leaders, apologists for the regime, American Republicans, and the *Wall Street Journal*."[487] Each of these categories had their own, sometimes overlapping, interest in challenging the story emerging from the records preserved at DC-CAM. More specifically, DC-CAM's collection countered the suppression of information regarding both the scale of Khmer Rouge carnage and its genocidal nature.[488] In her examination of this resistance through the lens of the mug shots of Khmer Rouge victims, Caswell argues that archivists and survivors of the Khmer Rouge "strategically deploy" the photographs "in legal testimonies, documentary films, and still photographs of Cambodians and tourists looking at them."[489] What she calls a "community of records" has developed around these mug shots, which in turn "supplant[s] a narrative of victimhood with a narrative of witnessing, transforming records that document an unspeakably violent past into agents of social change for the future."[490]

While the Museum features some British military artifacts and documents, the community itself created most of the records, which provide evidence of its struggle and

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[486] Ibid., 93.
[487] Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable*, 82.
[488] Ibid.,, 83.
[489] Ibid., 7.
[490] Ibid.

resistance. In this way, the context differs from DC-CAM's collections, which were not only created by the Khmer Rouge to "document the oppression of prisoners" but also to "serve a key function within that oppression."[491] At the Museum of Free Derry, however, a record's creator and subject are often one and the same, with most materials existing to counter oppression by documenting injustices. A hastily typed and corrected list of the names and ages of Bloody Sunday victims and the 1972 handwritten witness statement of a 52 year-old "unemployed painter" named Alexander Nash show how the community produced its own written records of events. Other documents—such as a *Derry Civil Rights Songbook* from 1968 and a "[h]andwritten minutes book for 1968 and a call to protest from the Derry Housing Action Committee"—are indicative of the types of materials on display. In a sense, the museum's records are in and of themselves the tools of resistance, which have since been called on to counter the injustice of the official narrative of events.

V.F. "An Almost Automatic Empathy" and the Ongoing Struggle

Community archiving, according to Andrew Flinn's definition, is "the grassroots activities of documenting, recording and exploring community heritage in which community participation, control and ownership of the project is essential."[492] The Bogside's eventual triumph over the "Widgery Whitewash" provides an emphatic example of why some communities opt to control how their histories are communicated and preserved. While

[491] Ibid., 158.
[492] Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives," 153.

several types of community archives exist at the intersection of activism and archiving, the term most applicable to the museum's work would be what Flinn and Ben Alexander call, "activist archiving," which "describes the process in which those who self-identify primarily as activists engage in archival activity, not as a supplement to their activism but as an integral part of their social movement activism."[493]

As the Bloody Sunday Trust's "main signature project," the Museum is a vital extension of the community's ongoing activism for justice both locally and globally. Kerr explains how the miscarriage of justice and historical fact has informed the Museum's own approach to communicating history:

> Our story is one of a community against a government, first Stormont and then Westminster, not of community against community. And we don't feel any need to balance our story by promoting a point of view that has been propagated as the official one over many years by legions of government and army PR officers and their tame press.[494]

Its work allows the Bogside to tell "its own story in its own way" so that visitors can "come and learn about it, understand, and acknowledge it."[495] Retaining independence and ownership of its history—both physically through artifacts and abstractly through the community's articulation of key events—remains foundational to the Museum's work.

The Museum's approach to history has repercussions beyond the Bogside, providing a model for how various communities within Northern Ireland might deal with the legacy of the Troubles. Kerr explains that each community must find its own way of preserving and sharing its story since creating "an agreed version of the history of the

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[493] Andrew Flinn and Ben Alexander, " 'Humanizing an inevitability political craft': Introduction to the special issue on *archiving activism* and *activist archiving," Archival Science* (2015) 15, 332.
[494] Kerr, "Sitting on the Fence," 441.
[495] Kerr, interview with author, March 22, 2017.

North" is impossible and "not in anyway necessary."[496] The Museum is therefore instructive for how the country might best approach its history, wherein, as Kerr advocates, the people of Northern Ireland can "understand all the differences and accept it" and in so doing, discuss their varied and often contradictory historical perspectives "rather than fight about it."[497] As a point of comparison, Kerr offers the Troubles Gallery in the Ulster Museum, part of the National Museums of Northern Ireland. As a national museum that strives for political neutrality, Kerr argues that "they've had to offend no one they satisfy on one either […] You could learn more from a school textbook. There's no sense of personal feeling. No sense of impact—it's facts and figures."[498] As his remarks make clear, there remains a sharp divide in opinion on how best to approach the history of conflict in the North, with Kerr and the museum falling firmly on the side of activism with each community telling its own story.

The Museum demonstrates how a community-driven approach to Northern Irish history means bridging divides between unionist and nationalist communities. Its relationship with the Siege Museum of the Apprentice Boys of Derry provides an exemplar of Derry's inter-community cooperation. More specifically, the Museum of Free Derry and the Siege Museum have come together to educate visiting school groups and community programs. The curriculum in the Republic of Ireland has students studying the Apprentice Boys and civil rights concurrently, which means that it has made logical sense for both museums to coordinate student visits.[499] Kerr explains, "in the past we always shared those visits, schools would come to one and to the other and a lot of

[496] Ibid.
[497] Ibid.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Ibid.

communication between the two museums coordinating visits."[500] More recently that relationship has become formalized through the 2013 "Kids Kollections" project which brings together children from the Protestant Fountain and Catholic Bogside communities for projects at the museums during the traditionally violent summer marching season.[501] In 2016, the museums jointly launched the Northern Ireland Schools Outreach Programme to bring in Northern Irish students. Julieanne Campbell, the director of the Museum of Free Derry, observed, "as an educational resource, we know that these shared visits will enlighten young people, stimulate discussion and foster a greater understanding of the different traditions here."[502] The museums' educational arrangement benefits both students and the communities themselves, suggesting, as Kerr argues, that inter-community museums offer more impactful educational experiences than a centralized museum striving for objectivity.

Despite inter-community cooperation and the vindication of the Saville Inquiry, the Museum by no means views its social justice work as complete. Reflecting an attitude very much in keeping with Flinn and Alexander's "activist archiving," Kerr discusses the risk of "sanitize[ing]" past events by shifting from an activist to historical approach:

> there will come a point where we have to go 'yes, let's try to move on.' But if we do that too early without the right resolution then we're just leaving open the wounds that will fester and erupt again in the future. We are never going to achieve resolution. I don't think that anyone is stupid enough to think that, but there is much more I think we have to achieve before we can start to treat this as history rather than current affairs.[503]

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[500] Ibid.
[501] Brendan McDaid, "Old Foes Bridge Divide for City Youth Project," *Belfast Telegraph*, July 11, 2013.
[502] Qtd. in "Free Derry and Siege Shared School Visits," *Derry Journal*, November 18, 2016, http://www.derryjournal.com/news/free-derry-and-siege-shared-school-visits-1-7686394
[503] Kerr, interview with author, March 22, 2017.

With Bloody Sunday, for instance, the quest remains to clear Gerald Donaghey, who the report said was "probably" carrying nail bombs when shot and killed. Museum visitors pass the actual clothes Donaghey wore on Bloody Sunday and are encouraged to see the implausibility of concealing nail bombs in tight clothing. The final exhibit also features a brief video about the Saville Inquiry reiterating the preponderance of evidence pointing towards Donaghey's innocence.

Furthermore, systemic issues caused by decades of misrule, oppression, and conflict continue to inhibit Derry's growth and progress. Kerr explains, "[p]eople may not actively be discriminated against […] now in those terms but the fact that infrastructure that did exist was taken away for so many decades and there was no new investment in it as part of the discrimination against the city is what's causing problems in the city today."[504] According to the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA), for instance, the Derry and Strabane council area has by far the highest rate of unemployment in Northern Ireland.[505] Kerr goes on to note how issues of infrastructure, education, transport links, and other indicators of economic depravation have a "very direct link" to the history presented in the museum.[506] By making these links visible, Flinn tells us, community archives "help communities not only to remember and document their past but also to understand the present day and its connections to the past."[507]

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[504] Ibid.
[505] Visit the NISRA website for the most recent labor statistics: http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/InteractiveMapTheme.aspx?themeNumber=18&themeName=Labour%20Market
[506] Kerr, interview with author, March 22, 2017.
[507] Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives," 159.

Moreover, the Museum always has had an international dimension to its work, which Kerr describes as "an almost automatic empathy with downtrodden people in other parts."[508] Kerr hopes that international visitors to the Museum leave "thinking well, is my government doing the same?"[509] The Museum makes these connections explicit through, for instance, exhibit text referencing American killings in Fallujah and a mural supporting Palestine on the wall of the original museum.[510] International concerns also extend to Derry's past and present connections to American civil rights. For instance, American civil rights icon Jesse Jackson officially opened the new Museum in June 2017 and the front of the building now features a joint art installation—a wav file of the Negro spiritual, "We Shall Overcome" etched into the building's steel facade—with the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. As Kerr explains, the installation serves as a "public and undeniable" reminder of the connection between the two museums and struggles, as well as a "public acknowledgment" of how civil rights leaders "set out for civil rights for the black population in the states but they helped the nationalist population in the North of Ireland get those same rights."[511] While the Museum makes these connections visible in Derry, it also has helped to educate those in the American South about the struggle in Northern Ireland. More specifically, the Museum provided a portable version of its exhibits to the Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site where in 1957 nine African American schoolchildren integrated the school in an iconic event in the civil rights movement.

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[508] Kerr, interview with author, March 22, 2017.
[509] Ibid.
[510] Ibid.
[511] Ibid.

The Museum also connects with a range of other human rights concerns, as its conception of what constitutes civil rights continues to evolve. When asked about a photograph in the exhibit featuring the famous Free Derry wall painted purple in support of LGBT rights, Kerr responds, "Well, what are civil rights? At one-point civil rights was one man, one vote and decent jobs and decent houses. But equality at large, freedom of sexual expression, all of that, that's civil rights, too."[512] As Kerr points out, however, the use of the wall to support gay pride was the one time that the community was "attacked from within," with a small number of people protesting the gesture. This incident—along with a protest by some Bloody Sunday families at the Museum's official opening—are unsurprising given how rarely, if ever, communities are in total lockstep on every issue.[513] As Flinn observes, "many community histories and community identities can be as exclusionary as mainstream histories in that they may marginalize or exclude other groups (on the basis of class, gender, sexual orientation or transgression from community orthodoxies).[514] The fact that the Free Derry wall remained purple and that the museum is making inroads with the unionist Siege museum indicates that the dominant strand within the community at present is one of tolerance. For the Museum of Free Derry, in

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[512] Ibid.

[513] On at least two occasions the Museum has faced criticism from within its own community regarding its re-opening. In June 2017 a few Bloody Sunday families protested that a visual exhibit would include the names of British soldiers among those killed from 1969-1972. There were also protests in 2014 when plans for the new facility showed it would block an important civil rights mural. Even residents who did not feel properly consulted by the museum and threatened to stand "in front of the bulldozers," prefaced their comments to the *Derry Journal* by first stating, "we all back the new museum" and "I fully support the regeneration of the museum." In response to the front page story, Campbell assured readers that the museum will in no way block the mural or harm it in anyway. She concluded by inviting residents with continued questions about the new facility to contact the museum and discuss the matter. "Residents Riled by Museum Plans," *Derry Journal*, July 11, 2014 and Julieann Campbell, "Museum Plan Won't Impact on Bogside civil rights mural," *Derry Journal,* July 21, 2014, http://www.derryjournal.com/news/museum-plan-won-t-impact-on-bogside-civil-rights-mural-1-6184755.

[514] Flinn, "Community Histories, Community Archives," 165.

particular, evidence points to it being inclusive of its whole community and unwavering in its support of oppressed people of all kinds.

V. G. Summary

The Museum of Free Derry archives and communicates the history of civil rights in Northern Ireland with unapologetic activism. "History is a bit of a waste of time," Kerr observes, "unless we use the lessons from it now."[515] Doing so, according to Kerr, can be dangerous in Northern Ireland where some continue to argue, "Let's just move on and forget everything."[516] For the Museum the struggle for social justice, both locally and globally, is very much ongoing. History can either be a means to further that struggle by connecting past events to the issues of today, or serve as a hindrance when presented as something other than and unrelated to the realities of today. As in the previously mentioned Ulster Museum exhibit cited by Kerr, attempting to tell a neutral or depoliticized version of history can sometimes "sanitize" uncomfortable histories and make them appear resolved.[517] Visiting the Museum is an emotional experience by design, presenting history as personal and ongoing.

In challenging its visitors, the Museum echoes the design of the Birmingham Civil Rights Museum [BCRI], which was built to cast the visitor in the role of a civil rights marcher. The Museum of Free Derry makes a similar move in its new facility by creating a section where visitors face a barricade and are surrounded by the actual sounds of the

[515] Kerr, interview with author, March 22, 2017.
[516] Ibid.
[517] Ibid.

civil rights march. In so doing, both institutions reinforce their overall themes of continuing injustices and the need for activism and activists to address them. Whereas the BCRI's museum operates largely independent of its archive, however, the Museum's exhibits are tightly interwoven with its archival materials and mission. In this respect, the Museum not only draws on the archive for exhibits but also sees it as an integral part of its overall work. Its importance is made visible in the new facility, which devotes most of the second floor to what will become archival storage and reading spaces.

As an activist institution, the Museum addresses the contemporary effects of historical injustices, as well as forges local and international partnerships to further its aims. The Museum's description of its work leaves no ambiguity as to its own approach to history:

> The museum is a public space where the concept of Free Derry can be explored in both historic and contemporary contexts. Free Derry is about our future together as much as it is about the past. The struggle of Free Derry is part of a wider struggle in Ireland and internationally for freedom and equality for all.[518]

The statement, like the museum itself, is built around collapsing the distance between oppositional states in time and space: historical and contemporary, local and global. In so doing, the museum positions itself to serve its community specifically and social justice generally. Its previously mentioned educational initiatives, for instance, are a testament to its future-orientation and commitment to cross-community and international dialogue. As a community museum and archive, it has been created by and exists for the Bogside to tell its story—a story intertwined with the struggles of oppressed people around the globe both past and present.

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[518] "About the Museum of Free Derry," *Museum of Free Derry*, Accessed April 13, 2017, http://www.museumoffreederry.org/content/museum

VI. "MAKING CONNECTIONS": EDUCATION, ADVOCACY, AND THE BIRMINGHAM CIVIL RIGHTS INSTITUTE

Ahmad Ward of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute (BCRI) did not set out to create a stir with his 2015 article on a popular news site in the state. By 6:30 the morning after Mr. Ward's article went live on AL.com, however, it had already received 600 comments, most of them derogatory in tone and some racist in content. What Mr. Ward had considered a simple history lesson had struck a nerve, highlighting the state's continuing struggle with systemic racism and individual prejudice. The piece, entitled, "For black Alabamians, Voter ID law feels like déjà vu," begins with a cartoon evocative of Bull Connor's infamous police and firemen assaulting African American protesters with high-pressure hoses and police dogs in 1963.[519] The hose and hydrant in this cartoon, however, read "DMV CLOSINGS" and "VOTER ID LAWS" respectively and a road sign stamped "21st CENTURY" points away from the regressive fireman labeled "ALABAMA." The cartoon visually encapsulates Mr. Ward's point: closing Alabama DMV offices in counties with the highest percentages of non-white voters is cause for concern in a state that systematically disenfranchised African Americans in the past. In blurring the lines between education and advocacy, Mr. Ward's piece exemplifies how BCRI makes connections between historical and present day injustices visible.

The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute sits at the physical epicenter of Birmingham's long civil rights struggle. Kelly Ingram Park, with its statues of Connor's police dogs and the youths who stood against them, lies just across the road, cattycorner to

[519] Ahmad Ward, "For Black Alabamians, Voter ID Law Feels like Déjà vu," *AL.com*, October 8, 2015, http://www.al.com/opinion/index.ssf/2015/10/for_black_alabamians_voter_id.html.

the 16th Street Baptist Church and the memory of the four little girls murdered in the 1963 bombings. The BCRI self-identifies first and foremost as an educational center, featuring exhibits, lectures, and other community events alongside its museum of civil rights artifacts and stories. The archive is intertwined with the museum and its work, housing various civil rights collections along with BCRI's 500 interviews of civil rights activists or "foot soldiers." As exemplified by the previously mentioned AL.com article, BCRI staff use their historical knowledge and resources to advocate for present-day human rights. In this chapter, I draw on the theoretical work of Manuel Castells to explicate BCRI's social justice advocacy through civil rights education.[520] More specifically, I hope to reveal how the BCRI serves as an educational hub for a diverse range of social issues, drawing on archival material to make visible the connection between contemporary injustices and their historical antecedents.

VI.A. "The Magic City" and "Bombingham"

Visitors to the BCRI quickly realize that Birmingham's civil rights story began long before the movement of the 1960s when Alabama adopted its new state constitution in 1901. More than two decades after the end of Reconstruction, the state's leaders called a convention in the capital of Montgomery "to establish," in the words of its president,

[520] Manuel Castells, *Communication Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) and Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015),

"white supremacy in this State."[521] An editorial in an 1899 issue of the *Pratt City Herald*—the paper of a community in present-day Birmingham—offered a similar rationale for convening a new constitutional convention:

> The present constitution of Alabama makes no limitation whatever upon suffrage, except for crime. All races and conditions have the right to vote. This puts certain sections of the State at the mercy of negro rule, and in almost every county in the State it would give the negro either the dominant or balance of power, provided there was a fair election and honest count. This alternative, then, is inevitable, to-wit: Negro rule or fraudulent elections. Under our present constitution it must be one or the other.[522]

As Alabama historian Wayne Flynt notes, only fear of federal intervention had delayed the move to disenfranchise black voters in the state. By 1900, the federal government had by-in-large left the South to its own devices and opened the door for mass disenfranchisement. The new constitution would prove devastatingly effective at cementing white supremacy, with Flynt recounting that "in 1900 there were 181,000 registered black male voter; in 1903 there were less than 5,000."[523] The constitution, which remains in place today, solidified a new era of post-reconstruction systemic racism in the state.

Birmingham, which would become the most populous city in the state, was a product of industry. Historian Blaine Brownell explains how the city sprung from "almost purely industrial origins:" "The rich deposits of coal, limestone, and iron ore located in the immediate area and the influx of northern capital during the 1880s combined to make

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[521] Qtd. in Will Parker, "Still Afraid of 'Negro Domination?': Why County Home Rule Limitations in the Alabama Constitution of 1901 are Unconstitutional," *Alabama Law Review* (Winter 2005): 547.
[522] Charles H. Frye, "The Object of a Constitutional Convention," *Pratt City Herald* (Pratt City, AL), April 15, 1899, From Birmingham Public Library, *Newspapers (1874-1901)*, http://bplonline.cdmhost.com/cdm/compoundobject/collection/BrmnghmNP01/id/7918/rec/2 (accessed December 21, 2016)
[523] Wayne Flynt, "Alabama's Shame: The Historical Origins of the 1901 Constitution," *Alabama Law Review* (Fall, 2001): 71.

Birmingham the steel center of the New South."[524] Its industrial promise led to a population boom in the early part of the twentieth century, immortalized in Birmingham's sobriquet "the magic city." Unlike Montgomery, the first capital of the Confederacy, Birmingham did not exist before Reconstruction. As Brownell observes, the absence of a "prewar aristocracy" left the city open to the development of a "business aristocracy."[525] In Birmingham, therefore, African American rights have uniquely been intertwined with larger labor struggles. Robert J. Norrell's "Caste in Steel: Jim Crow Careers in Birmingham, Alabama," traces the African American workers relationship to the city from 1880 to the 1970s. Labor in the city was divided between skilled and unskilled, with whites taking all of the skilled jobs and blacks taking most of the unskilled work in the iron furnaces and steel mills. In the ongoing battles between employers and unions, the unions courted African Americans to the benefit of all workers—a strategy that met with much success in the 1930s. Tragically, as Norell argues, the white workers used the improved position to cement their superior status in both the workplace and society in general: "Birmingham conforms more closely to the South African pattern. Like the Afrikaaners, white workers in Birmingham moved aggressively to preserve their economic superiority over blacks. The competition for jobs gave them a powerful economic incentive for defending segregation."[526]

Naturally, oppression in the state ran far deeper than the individual prejudices of Alabama's working class. Injustice towards African Americans was blatant, systemic, and encompassed all spheres power in the state. Douglas Blackmon's Pulitzer Prize winning

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[524] Blaine Brownell, "Birmingham, Alabama: New South City in the 1920s," *The Journal of Southern History* 38, no 1 (Feb., 1972): 22.
[525] Brownell, "Birmingham, Alabama," 25.
[526] Robert J. Norrell, "Caste in Steel: Jim Crow Careers in Birmingham, Alabama," *The Journal of American History* 73, no. 3 (Dec., 1986): 694.

Slavery by Another Name provides a window into the scale and devastation wrought by racist governance following Reconstruction. As Blackmon notes, an 1883 U.S. Supreme Court Ruling on the nearly decade-old Civil Rights Act "opened a torrent of repression" by declaring the federal government unable to enforce equal treatment of citizens in the South.[527] Blackmon explains how in Alabama and every other Southern state, African Americans were totally disenfranchised and excluded from state juries and meaningful political offices.[528] In his devastating exploration of convict leasing in the South, Blackmon argues that African Americans were for all intents and purposes "re-enslaved" to work in the massive industrial operations underway in the former Confederate states: "The resubjugation of black labor was a lucrative enterprise, and critical to the industrialists and entrepreneurial farmers amassing capital and land."[529] Blackmon relates how unlike antebellum slavery—wherein African Americans "were at least minimally insulated from physical harm by their intrinsic financial value—these laborers were replaceable and could be worked to their absolute physiological limits."[530] As a powerhouse for the national production of iron and steel at the turn of the century, Birmingham fueled its success through the horrific mistreatment and oppression of its African American workers.

The racial situation in Birmingham remained somewhat static until the 1930s. It was during this time that Birmingham found its first black lawyer of the 20th century in Arthur Shores. Shores challenged the legality of voter discrimination as set forth in the Alabama constitution and would become a champion of the city's African American

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[527] Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Anchor Books, 2008), 93.
[528] Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name*, 157.
[529] Ibid., 90.
[530] Ibid., 96.

community for years to come. Much of the sustained activism within the community, however, came directly from the labor sector. Drawing on oral histories at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Max Krochmal observes, "[f]rom the 1930s through the 1960s, community-and workplace-based civil rights activism consistently dovetailed. Often orchestrated by the same individuals, struggles in one arena gained strength from and simultaneously emboldened the other."[531] The BCRI's Ahmad Ward and Laura Anderson wrote on the same subject in a 2015 Labor Day article intended to educate the public on organized labor's role in the civil rights movement.[532] Also drawing on the oral history archive, Ward and Anderson focus on Colonel Stone Johnson and how he and other union men guarded the homes and churches of civil rights leaders. As Ward and Anderson note, visitors to the BCRI encounter the "laborers, black and white, who built our city" before learning "about the movement in the churches and streets of Birmingham."[533] For Ward and Anderson, the story of Birmingham's civil rights movement is interconnected with the history of the city's labor struggle.

Birmingham, like most major Southern cities, changed in the post-war years as African American veterans returned home. No longer satisfied to accept second-class citizenship, activists worked to improve community and workplace conditions. Furthermore, as historian Glenn Eskew points out, "for black families wanting to leave congested neighborhoods, the shortage of houses and land for expansion in 'negro' areas created a desperate situation."[534] Encroachment into white neighborhoods and other

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[531] Max Krochmal, "An Unmistakably Working-Class Vision: Birmingham's Foot Soldiers and Their Civil Rights Movement," *The Journal of Southern History* 76, no. 4 (November 2010), 924.
[532] Ahmad Ward and Laura Anderson, "Birmingham's Civil Rights Movement was Strengthened by Organized Labor," *AL.com,* September 06, 2015.
[533] Ibid.
[534] Glenn T. Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 54.

changes in the racial status quo elicited a violent response from those driven to maintain white supremacy. Eskew notes how Birmingham was exceptional among Southern cities for the level of racially motivated attacks, with "some fifty dynamitings between 1947 and 1965."[535] The decades of bombings and other hate crimes gave Birmingham its infamous nickname, "Bombingham." During this period, the Klan operated in the open under the aegis of the city's commissioner of public safety, Bull Connor. With control of the city's fire and police departments, Connor waged a brutal campaign against threats to racial segregation in the city. Under Connor's years of city control, the police department would became, in historian Thornton Mills's words, "a sink of corruption and racial prejudice."[536] He embodied the racist system that the Birmingham campaign sought to undo through peaceful protests, marches, sit-ins, and boycotts.

A driving force behind the movement in Birmingham was the church. Just as the labor and civil rights struggles were at times indistinguishable, biographer Andrew Manis notes that Shuttlesworth's ministry "and his civil rights activism were different sides of the same coin."[537] Shuttlesworth, the most respected and iconic of Birmingham's civil rights leaders, interpreted his calling to the civil rights struggle in biblical terms, as "a righteous program between the forces of good and evil."[538] Shuttlesworth's faith was only strengthened by what Mills describes as "a near reign of terror" in Birmingham that began with Klan bombings of Shuttlesworth's home and church in 1956.[539] Nineteen sixty-three, however, proved to be the costliest, and most critical, year for the city's racial struggle.

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535 Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 50.
536 Thornton J. Mills, *Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 179.
537 Andrew Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), xi.
538 Qtd. in Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 109.
539 Mills, *Dividing Lines*, 250.

Mills reports that in that year alone, there were "eight bombings, one firebombing, one unsuccessful bombing, three night-rider shootings, a stink bombing, and seven deaths."[540] Furthermore, it was the year that revealed to the world the brutality of Birmingham's power structures, as cameras captured Connor's snarling police dogs and high-pressure hoses assaulting the city's black youths in Kelly Ingram Park.

Nineteen sixty-three was also the year of the tragic 16th Street Baptist Church bombing that killed four little girls. The church had made an obvious target for the Klan given its importance among African Americans. As Rose Freeman Massey writes in the introduction to a book of BCRI oral histories on the Birmingham movement, "the black church—often the one institution that whites did not control—has served as a place of worship, a school, and a meeting place […] Out of the mass meetings came a sense that God was on your side and no police dogs or jail could turn you around."[541] Along with providing inspiration and courage to the movement's "foot soldiers", the 16th Street Baptist Church also served as a physical base of operations for pivotal demonstrations in 1963. It was at the church that activists planned demonstrations and marchers gathered before proceeding to city hall. It was no coincidence that the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute would later be built next to the church's sacred ground and that the front of the BCRI would feature a statue of Fred Shuttlesworth. Ultimately, the sacrifices of Birmingham's activists and "foot soldiers" would bring more equality to what Martin

[540] Ibid., 251.
[541] Rose Freeman Massey, "Look for Them in the Whirlwind," in *Foot Soldiers for Democracy: The Men, Women, and Children of the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement,* eds. Horace Huntley and John W. McKerley (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), xx-xxi.

Luther King called "the most thoroughly segregated city in America" and create pressure on the Kennedy administration to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[542]

VI. B. A City Remembers

The BCRI arose in part out of Birmingham's long preoccupation with its national and international image. Even during the civil rights movement itself, Birmingham business leaders realized that its burgeoning international reputation for injustice and violence would inhibit the city's prosperity. In fact, the president of Birmingham's Chamber of Commerce, Sid Smyer, was representing the city at a 1961 conference in Tokyo when the image of a Birmingham mob attacking Freedom Riders flashed across the globe.[543] Forced to spend his trip defending the city's reputation, Smyer told the *Wall Street Journal* a couple of weeks later, "These racial incidents have given us a black eye we'll be a long time trying to forget."[544] Driven by the economic impact of an abysmal international reputation for intolerance, Smyer and other businessmen were an early force for improving race relations in the city. The need to rehab Birmingham's reputation would continue long after the civil rights movement officially ended, as an impulse that both

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[542] While historians agree on the Birmingham Campaign's national significance, Eskew & Mills have questioned its significance locally. Mills calls its legacy "problematic" and cites the "electoral alliance between the white business progressives and the black moderates" as the true driving force for racial progress in the city. Mills, *Dividing Lines*, 378-379. Eskew goes even further by noting that while a black middle class continues to benefit from the city's civil rights struggle, "not all black people have benefited from black political empowerment, equal access as consumers, and equal employment opportunities." As he concludes, "In Birmingham and elsewhere, the 'perpetual promise' remained unfulfilled." Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 339-341.

[543] Eskew, *But For Birmingham*, 150, 170-173.

[544] "Business in Dixie: Many Southerners Say Racial Tension Slows Area's Economic Gains," *Wall Street Journal*, May 26, 1961: 1.

complimented and complicated the larger project of remembrance, reconciliation, and justice.

Throughout the subsequent decades, Birmingham's civic leaders grappled with how to exorcize its legacy of racial violence and usher in a new era of progress and prosperity. One way the city sought to bring closure to the past—as Susan Willoughby Anderson points out in *The Past on Trial: The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing, Civil Rights Memory and the Remaking of Birmingham*—was through the long-delayed trials of the men who gave "Bombingham" its name. As Willoughby notes, law enforcement had failed to act on bombing suspects for years and "the lack of prosecutions kept the memory of the bombing alive and attached an image of violent resistance to Birmingham that haunts local people to the present."[545] In regards to the infamous Klan bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, no one would be brought to justice before 1977. Robert Chambliss was the first to be convicted, followed by Thomas Blanton in 2001, and finally Bobby Frank Cherry in 2002. Writing for the *New York Times* on the eve of Cherry's trial, Pulitzer Prize winning journalist and Alabama native Rick Bragg questioned how much closure the trial might bring: "But in the old black neighborhoods in a new-looking city of downtown skyscrapers and vast suburban sprawl, there is a sadness too severe, too profound, to correct with a courtroom, and a pain as new as yesterday."[546] Anderson makes a similar point regarding the complexity and elusiveness of closure through legal justice, noting that "the trials could not fully revise or redeem the past because the harms caused by the crime reached forward into the present."[547]

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[545] Susan Willoughby Anderson, *The Past on Trial: The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing, Civil Rights Memory and the Remaking of Birmingham* (Ph.D. Diss., Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest LLC, 2008),
[546] Rick Bragg, "Alabama Faces Old Wound in One Last Trial," *New York Times*, May 12, 2002: 1.
[547] Anderson, *The Past on Trial*, 35.

Momentum for another form of historical reckoning also had been building for some time. Anderson describes how the push for a memorial to the city's civil rights struggle had been in the works since the 1970s but "funding issues, lack of public support, and eventually a major contracting scandal threatened to derail the project."[548] Odessa Woolfolk, the founding president of the BCRI, credits Mayor David Vann in 1978 with the "idea that the city should build a museum-like facility to memorialize its civil rights history."[549] According to Woolfolk, Vann was inspired by visits to Holocaust and Jewish Diaspora Museums while in Israel. He left convinced "that respectful remembrance of horror could be therapeutic for a community."[550] In this sense, the BCRI's origins are both international and firmly rooted in the therapeutic value of remembrance.

Not everyone in Birmingham, however, saw the value in dredging up the city's violent past. As Bragg had observed during the Cherry trial, the impulse to remember and rectify the past was divisive and at times fell along racial lines: "Many whites said they want to see justice done, some say they believe the old man should be left alone, and others say they want nothing to do with it […] Black people here, of course, tend to support the state's decision to try Mr. Cherry."[551] Woolfolk, however, also mentions that some blacks did not support what would become the civil rights museum because they "don't want to remember what's traumatic in their history."[552] For many of Birmingham's politicians and leaders in the 1980s remembering the civil rights movement in general

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[548] Ibid., 141.
[549] Odessa Woolfolk, "BCRI History," Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, 2, http://www.bcri.org/resources/documents/bcrihistory.pdf.
[550] Ibid.
[551] Bragg, "Alabama Faces Old Wound," 2.
[552] Qtd. in Glenn Eskew, "The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute and the New Ideology of Tolerance," in the *Civil Rights Movement in American Memory*, eds. Renee C. Romano and Leigh Raiford (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), 45.

seemed counterproductive to the city's progress. Woolkfolk provides an account of the various objections to what would become the BCRI:

> Opposition to so prominent a depiction of Birmingham's past emerged well before the ground breaking for the facility. Birmingham's elected officials had tried to forget the past. Many civic leaders recoiled at the thought of summoning up old images of fire hoses and police dogs. 'Why open up old wounds?' some asked. 'Such an Institute will only alienate whites of good will, said others. [553]

Of course, the urge to avoid or forget troubled times is not unique to either Birmingham or the South. Elisabetta Viggiani, for instance, mentions that in Northern Ireland some republicans and loyalists she interviewed thought memorials sustained wounds and divisions, while Douglas Egerton recounts how one white commission member of an investigation into the North Carolina Election Day riots in 1898 believed their work would only "keep old wounds open."[554]

Other roadblocks to the project were more practical in nature. A combination of lingering reservations about the project, voter apathy, and the city's dire financial straits led to voter rejection of two separate bond proposals to fund the museum in 1986 and 1989.[555] The city's first black mayor, Richard Arrington, who had been behind the failed bond proposals, remained steadfast in his search for funding.[556] Eventually Arrington found a way to bypass a voter referendum and, along with help from former activists and

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[553] Woolfolk, "BCRI History," 3.

[554] Douglas R. Egerton, *The Wars of Reconstruction: The Brief, Violent History of America's Most Progressive Era* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014), 348. Viggiani writes that for certain paramilitaries, "Memorials are seen as 'regressive', in the sense that 'they don't heal the wounds, they in fact do nothing really to heal the divisions that exist in our community, but help to sustain those wounds and help to sustain division in the community.' They are 'insulating conflict, [maintaining] a little bit of the conflict, albeit not a physical conflict' and are seen as 'a continuation of the struggle'." Elisabetta Viggiani, *Talking Stones: The Politics of Memorialization in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland* (New York: Bergahn, 2014), 60.

[555] Anderson, *The Past on Trial*, 145-146 and Woolfolk, "BCRI History," 2.

[556] Ibid.

various civic and business leaders, secured the necessary funds.[557] By the mid-1980s, Alabama politicians and business leaders had finally come around to the idea of memorializing the movement, thanks in part to the commercial possibilities it raised. As Glenn Eskew's study of the BCRI points out, federal, state, and local governments were subsidizing civil rights heritage tourism across the South at the time, with even George Wallace—infamous for his staunch defense of segregation in the 1960s—funding "black heritage tourism and aggressively market[ing] Alabama's civil rights sites" during his fourth term as governor in the early 1980s.[558]

Now funded, the question became what exactly should be built. In 1986 the mayor appointed a Task Force to define the memorial's mission and liaise with the architects and various consultants.[559] First and foremost, the Task Force argued that the facility should be an institute as opposed to a museum—a distinction intended "to imply an action-oriented establishment."[560] In the consulting American History Workshop's "Introduction and Philosophical Approach" section of its 1987 program statement, they explain the institution's rationale and mission:

> Such an institution, stemming from a need to comprehend and celebrate recent events of such timeliness and significance, forces us to redefine the meaning of 'museum.' And to know what we mean by 'civil rights.' We have to interpret the experience of our grandparents and parents, in order to understand the remarkable events which continue to occur in our own lifetime. **The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute will be the nation's major permanent public interpretive program about the most important events in the 20th-century history of the United States** (bold in original)**.**[561]

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[557] Ibid.
[558] Eskew, "New Ideology of Tolerance," 29.
[559] Woolkfolk, "BCRI History," 2.
[560] Ibid.
[561] American History Workshop, "Program Statement," June 1987, Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.

As the statement makes clear, the Institute will not be a museum for things past, but rather a place for understanding and interpreting the past in order to act on present-day issues. A 1991 media statement by the BCRI reiterated and further clarified its primary mission: "The goal of the Institute is not only to preserve the past and make it accessible to the present, but also to create an opportunity to learn from the past and apply its lessons to contemporary challenges in the areas of race relations and human rights."[562] The Institute would be a dynamic place where past materials and lessons could further social justice in present-day contexts.

BCRI's planners designed it to have several interconnected parts that furthered the Institute's mission to educate. The first statement of the Institute's "press packet" provides a concise and direct vision for the facility: "The Birmingham Civil Rights institute has been designed to be an educational, cultural and research center that will include exhibitions and information, as well as act as a repository of historical materials."[563] Each part would work towards the previously mentioned mission of the Institute as a whole, educating the public about the past in order to bring about a better future. As task force member, Dr. Edward LaMonte described the facility, "it will be a kind of community school or university where people can come and learn."[564] As a "multi-purpose educational institute," it would offer educational programming, school curriculum development, mini-conference spaces, and traveling exhibits alongside the permanent museum facility and exhibits. [565] The permanent exhibition space would be completed in

[562] Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, "Media Package," January 30, 1991, Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.
[563] Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Press Packet, unprocessed collection, Birmingham Public Library, Department of Archives and Manuscripts.
[564] Qtd. in Anderson, *The Past on Trial*, 144.
[565] Anderson, *The Past on Trial*, 144-145.

two phases: museum exhibits corresponding to traditional themes and the second phase of using "computer-based educational tools to explore how 'the struggle continues' for human rights around the globe."[566] Exhibit films, sounds, and artifacts would be selected by local figures, and visitors would progress from learning about segregation and racism to the civil rights struggle and finally "the symbolic triumph of tolerance."[567]

Organizers proposed constructing the facility near many of the city's most important civil rights locations. This physical grounding in the "sacred space" that would become known as the Civil Rights District, placed the Institute within short walking distance of iconic African American and civil rights sites such as the 16th Street Baptist Church, Kelly Ingram Park, the Carver Theatre, and the historical black business district.[568] By situating the Institute in this district, its developers reinforced its identity as a "living institution," wherein the Institute would become a new and vital part of an existing network of historical sites.[569] Those planning the facility envisioned all of these sites working together to tell the civil rights story. By design, departing visitors would find themselves facing the same church and park as the youths who marched in 1963, thus making the Institute "a permanent gathering-point, a constant place to rally, a persistent jumping-off point for efforts to push forward."[570] While its historic location was wisely incorporated into the Institute's design and narrative, its location was also intended to serve as a boon to the local community by providing "a step toward the revitalization of the black community's presence in downtown Birmingham."[571]

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566 Eskew, "New Ideology of Tolerance," 47.
567 Ibid., 44-52.
568 Woolfolk, "BCRI History," 3.
569 Ibid.
570 American History Workshop, "Program Statement," June 1987, Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.
571 Ibid.

With the Institute designed and ready to be built in 1991, Mayor Arrington became embroiled in a corruption scandal. He was named as an "unindicted co-conspirator" in the case of minority contractors he selected defrauding the city of monies earmarked for the BCRI.[572] According to Eskew, "Arrington used the charges of corruption to unify the black community behind his administration" during his reelection bid, as well as used the BCRI's dedication ceremony "to solidify his control over the black community."[573] Eskew also notes how the "white racial liberals and academics involved in the Task Force and a black protest group that complained that the city had ignored the poor in the planning," were excluded from the Institute's groundbreaking.[574] The controversy provided ammunition for those opposed to the civil rights institute, with Woolfolk noting, "Then you had on the side of naysayers a group in the town who felt that the Arrington administration and his staff were not good stewards of public taxes anyway, that their priorities weren't the best priorities in the minds of the naysayers. So let's not entrust them with more money to do yet another 'wasteful' project."[575] Although Arrington had been instrumental in making the museum a reality, the scandal would sully to some extent his role in the process and stoke preexisting discontent with the project.

Despite these untimely revelations, the Institute opened with great success. It had 25,000 visitors in just the first two weeks after opening, thereby affirming both the public interest in remembering and reflecting on history—as evidenced by the 12 million dollars of taxpayer money devoted to the project—and the dedication of its founders who worked

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572 Eskew, "New Ideology of Tolerance," 54-58.
573 Glenn T. Eskew, "Memorializing the Movement: The Struggle to Build Civil Rights Museums in the South," in *Warm Ashes: Issues in Southern History at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Winfred B. Moore, Jr., et al. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 370-371.
574 Ibid.
575 Woolfolk interview qtd. in Anderson, *The Past on Trial*, 148.

for 13 years to build the Institute.[576] Historian Julian Bond examined the statements left on the visitor's ledger book by early visitors to the Institute who had marched in the 1963 demonstrations.[577] The notes left were simple yet poignant and provided "a roll call for the movement's nameless and forgotten":

> "Empress Akweke-king, now of Brooklyn wrote: 'dog attacked.' Rev. BW. Henderson of Avenue O reports 'house bombed on Sugar Hill.' Ruth Barefield-Pendleton of 2nd Street West 'marched Selma to Montgomery.' Doris Brewster of Riverchase Parkway simply wrote 'hosed.' […] Willie James Coleman boasts he was 'first to go to jail for park.' Sandra Johnson's brief narrative says simply 'left school.' Glenda Bailey of Adamsville remembers 'heard blast of church from the fountain Heights Methodist Church."[578]

These miniature testimonies would later be drawn upon and much expanded for the Institute's oral history project, which preserved the voices of the movement's "foot soldiers" among others. Even though the facility was now open and flooded with visitors, the BCRI's work in memorializing the past in order to facilitate a better future had just begun.

VI. C. The Networked Archive

Networks, according to Manuel Castells, are "complex structures of communication constructed around a set of goals that simultaneously ensure unity of purpose and flexibility of execution by their adaptability to the operating environment."[579] From its inception, organizers envisioned BCRI's archive in terms of a civic network, whereby it

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[576] Eskew, "Memorializing the Movement," 371.
[577] Julian Bond, "History, Hope and Heroes," *Southern Changes*, 15, no.4 (Winter 1993): 1-7.
[578] Bond, "History, Hope and Heroes," 6.
[579] Castells, *Communication Power*, 21.

could build on the city's pre-existing civil rights collections. More specifically, the archive would draw on the expertise and resources of the established and much respected civil rights collections at the Birmingham Public Library [BPL]. As stated in an early case statement, "the Institute will be linked by computer to the archives of the Birmingham Public Library which is highly regarded for its holdings."[580] In this respect, the archive's work has always been intertwined with both the Institute itself and other civic institutions in the manner of Castells's social and organizational networks: "communicative structures" created and programed by interacting social actors.[581] As such, the archive has contributed both information and expertise to its various networks, circulating unique and invaluable materials related to Birmingham's civil rights history.

Marvin Whiting, the first archivist at the Birmingham Public Library, was instrumental in the building of the BCRI. Whiting witnessed the civil rights struggle first-hand while on the faculty of Atlanta's Lovett School, which was protested for the barring of Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy's children.[582] Upon arriving in Birmingham to work at the Birmingham Public Library in the 1970s, Whiting found himself there, as Eskew notes, "at just the right moment to preserve irreplaceable municipal documents detailing postwar civil rights protests, unique photographs, recordings, film footage from area media outlets, and materials released from the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act."[583] The work, however, would be challenging given the lingering racial tensions in Birmingham. Reflecting on his predecessor, current BPL archivist, Jim Baggett recalls Whiting telling him "that there were people here who were not thrilled to find out he was

[580] Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, "Case Statement," Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.
[581] Castells, *Communication Power*, 20.
[582] Eskew, "New Ideology of Tolerance," 35.
[583] Ibid.

collecting civil rights materials because at that time Birmingham was sort of in this denial stage. A lot of people here felt that if you just don't talk about that history everybody will forget."[584] Despite the pushback, Whiting went on to build what Eskew describes as "one of the most significant collections of civil rights documents in the country."[585]

The BCRI archive was designed to complement and build on the BPL's civil rights work. In this respect, the two would form the core of a civic network of institutions documenting and preserving the city's civil rights history. As early in the Institute's planning as 1984, the Community Affairs Committee of Operation New Birmingham appointed a committee to arrange a policy with the BPL's Department of Archives to begin "a temporary repository for civil rights documentation gathered in the name of the museum."[586] Later, the American History Workshop's 1987 report further addressed the role of the Institute's archive:

> The archives at the Birmingham Public Library are already one of this country's most important resources for civil rights scholarship. With the addition of the Institute's own archival effort, the city will be a key resource for scholarship. The museum program will not only draw heavily on the archives for programmatic content, and photographic and audio material, it will foster increased awareness of these resources in the scholarly and local community. Once the community recognizes the value of resources not often identified as scholarly—personal memoirs and memorabilia, photo collections, and the like, it can begin to take stock in its own contribution to Birmingham's history.[587]

The archive would therefore serve as a source of materials for its other functions—namely, the museum and educational programming—as well as empower the community to realize its own individual and collective contributions to history.

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[584] Jim Baggett, Head of the Department of Archives and Manuscripts at the Birmingham Public Library and Archivist for the City of Birmingham, interview with author, November 3, 2015, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, AL, United States of America.
[585] Eskew, "New Ideology of Tolerance," 35.
[586] Qtd. in Eskew, "New Ideology of Tolerance," 40.
[587] American History Workshop, "Program Statement," June 1987, Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.

Others objected to the archive, however, with Eskew calling it "a bone of contention" throughout the BCRI's development.[588] Whiting, in particular, questioned the wisdom of the Institute having an archive, which he considered redundant given the BPL's success collecting civil rights materials.[589] As shown by the BPL's evolving and multifaceted relationship with the BCRI archive, networks are complex and can practice, in Castells's words, "cooperation and competition simultaneously."[590] Despite Whiting's reservations, however, both he and Vann saw the need for the BCRI to collect civil rights materials:

> As an archivist, Whiting was reluctant to see the papers he had processed split apart and housed in a separate civil rights facility, but Vann recognized that significant collections held by African Americans were not being offered to the library because of perceived racism on the part of the staff. The financial records of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, for example, were in the attic of an abandoned funeral home, and the widow of the group's treasurer refused to share them with scholars or donate them to the Birmingham Public Library. An independent institute seemed the best way to secure these important documents before they fell victim to time.[591]

With invaluable civil rights material imperiled by time and neglect, the Institute adopted a philosophy of "we don't wait—we collect" during the few years between the Institute's opening and the hiring of an archivist.[592] Whiting would be instrumental in finding a suitable archivist for the Institute, with Wayne Coleman becoming the first archivist in the mid-1990s.[593] The BPL and BCRI remain connected as of 2015, with Anderson and

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588 Eskew, "New Ideology of Tolerance," 34-36.
589 Ibid.
590 Castells, *Communication Power*, 20, 426.
591 Ibid.
592 Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, "Meeting of the Board of Directors," March 17, 1994, Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.
593 Ibid; Laura Anderson, Archivist, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, interview with author, November 4, 2015.

Baggett consulting on a near daily basis concerning patron queries and drawing on materials from both collections to co-present on surveillance of mass meetings.[594]

Other nodal points on Birmingham's civil rights network have developed since the BPL began collecting materials. Along with the BCRI, local universities such as Samford, Birmingham Southern, and the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB) have developed complimentary archives. Baggett notes how when a patron contacts BPL with "Baptist material, I refer them to Samford, if it's Methodist material, I refer them to Birmingham Southern and they do the same, they refer people to us."[595] Although these archives may not mention civil rights specifically within their collecting policies, collections such as UAB's Dr. Jack Ellis interviews with African American health professionals regarding "pre-integration education and practice" are tangentially related.[596] The same would be true of the civil rights dimensions of the collections at Samford and Birmingham Southern, with the use of Samford's original copy of King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail" in a documentary providing a recent example.[597]

Moreover, UAB was the home institution of a key figure within BCRI's archive: history professor Dr. Horace Huntley. Huntley, who was a founding board member of BCRI, split his time between UAB and the BCRI to launch the Institute's oral history project in 1994.[598] Huntley and Lola Hendrix, former corresponding secretary for the

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[594] Ibid; Baggett, interview with author, November 3, 2015.
[595] Ibid.
[596] Tim Pennycuff, email message to author, November 2, 2015. Other examples of UAB's civil rights-related materials include a 1947 commencement address about practicing medicine in a majority African American community and 1961 pamphlet on the history of Mobile General Hospital and its housing of black patients. Ibid.
[597] See: Gerald Smith, "Samford's Copy of 'Letter from Birmingham Jail' Used for Documentary," Samford University, July 18, 2017, https://www.samford.edu/news/2017/07/Samfords-Copy-of-Letter-from-Birmingham-Jaill-Used-for-Documentary .
[598] Laura Anderson, Archivist, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, interview with author, November 4, 2015.

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, would collect "more than four hundred interviews with participants from across the social spectrum."[599] The project continued past Hendrix's passing in 2013 with the assistance of archivists Laura Anderson, Wayne Coleman, and others.[600] Huntley would publish two volumes of oral histories: *The Black Workers' Struggle for Equality in Birmingham*, which focused on black union members fighting "to transform their labor organizations into vehicles for racial justice as well as working-class empowerment, and *Foot Soldiers for Democracy*—an examination of "black community activism across lines of class, gender, and generation."[601] All of the interviews remain accessible in the BCRI archive as VHS recordings and transcripts. Along with their stories, civil rights veterans also entrusted the BCRI with physical artifacts and records. Former BCRI archivist Laura Anderson relates how "people came to opening week with items they wanted to donate and the founding board members had identified a few collections in the community that they wanted to have here, those materials [that] were donated still comprise the bulk of what we [the archive] have."[602]

The BCRI archive also contributes to a state-wide archival network through the digital repository, Alabama Mosaic. Maintained by Auburn University on behalf of the Network of Alabama Academic Libraries (NAAL), Alabama Mosaic exists "to make unique historical treasures from Alabama's archives, libraries, museums, and other repositories electronically accessible to Alabama residents and to students, researchers,

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[599] Ibid. Horace Huntley and John W. McKerley, eds., Preface to *Foot Soldiers for Democracy: The Men, Women, and Children of the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), IX.
[600] Laura Anderson, Archivist, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, interview with author, November 4, 2015.
[601] Ibid. and Huntley and McKerley, Preface to *Foot Soldiers for Democracy:* IX.
[602] Laura Anderson, Archivist, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, interview with author, November 4, 2015.

and the general public in other states and countries."[603] Its precursor originated at the Alabama Department of Archives and History (ADAH) as a digital means to compliment the state history curriculum. Civil rights was made an early cornerstone of what would become Alabama Mosaic, which is unsurprising given that, as ADAH's Edwin C. Bridges points out, it was one of the three formative conflicts that shaped the state.[604] In their history of Alabama Mosaic, Sherida Downer and her co-authors note how "The Project is especially interested in preserving and making publicly available collections of materials on the history of the civil rights movement in Alabama."[605] The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute contributed a digital collection of materials from the Concerned Citizens of Alabama (CWCA), which had formed in 1965 to push social change in the state. The collection, which is also available via ADAH's digital collections, complements other civil rights materials made available from various libraries, museums, and archives across the state.

Alongside its civic and state interconnections, the archive also interfaces internally among the various departments within the BCRI. To varying degrees, temporary exhibitions, the museum, and educational programming are all interlocked with the work of the archive. Anderson has worked closely with Ward on educational exhibits, noting how "[h]e's very good at the layout, conceiving of an exhibit in terms of how its going to look, and I'm the content person, so we've done some really fun things."[606] Anderson points specifically to their work on a 2005 W.C. Patton exhibit as an example of a

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[603] "About Alabama Mosaic," *Alabama Mosaic*, accessed October 2, 2017, http://alabamamosaic.org/about.php .
[604] Edwin C. Bridges, "Becoming Alabama: A Time Rich in Historical Remembrances," *Alabama Heritage* (Winter 2010:, 38. The other two seminal conflicts, according to Bridges, were the Creek and Civil Wars. Ibid.
[605] Sherida Downer, Sue Medina, Beth Nicol, and Aaron Trehub, "AlabamaMosaic: Sharing Alabama History Online," *Library Hi Tech* 23, no. 2, 250.
[606] Ibid.

successful collaboration.[607] The physical layout of the exhibit, for example, relied on the archive's Patton collection of 40 boxes of materials and 35 artifacts to recreate his office down to the "mess" and bumper stickers on his door.[608] In terms of content, Ward and Anderson "weave in the story of the Alabama constitution and [how it] disenfranchised people through the legislature and different court cases."[609]

The main museum itself, however, has drawn little on BCRI's archival holdings. The archive's underutilization in this respect is unsurprising given that the museum predates the archive by several years, meaning that there were no in-house materials for the permanent exhibits to draw from originally.[610] Although the archive would later collect the originals of the copies and replicas on display in the museum, a regular interchange between the archive and the museum never developed.[611] According to Anderson, the archive and museum have "not interfaced very well over the years […] mostly the result of just staffing and a lack of understanding of what an archive is. The same lack of understanding that's just in the world in general applies here."[612] Oral histories provide one of the few connection points between the archive and museum, composing an important part of several exhibits that feature audio triggered by visitor motion.[613] Fortunately, as Anderson's points out, the situation has begun to change in

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[607] W.C. Patton (1910-1997) was a voting rights pioneer in Alabama who registered ½ million voters through his work with the NAACP. In 2015, the BCRI reinstalled the exhibit in part because of "the recent changes to the Voting Rights Act and the upcoming 50th anniversary of that landmark legislation in American history." Ahmad Ward, "The Birmingham Civil Rights institute Presents 'A Voteless People is a Hopeless People: Alabama's W.C. Patton and the Struggle for Voting Rights," June 5, 2015, https://birminghambusinessalliance.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/pattonformat.pdf

[608] Laura Anderson, Archivist, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, interview with author, November 4, 2015.

[609] Ibid.

[610] Ibid.

[611] Ibid.

[612] ibid.

[613] Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, "Media Package," January 30, 1991, Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute

recent years with the hiring of new CEO, Andrea Taylor, who values and supports the archive's work.[614]

VI. D. Advocacy through Education

In its report to the BCRI Task Force, the consulting American History Workshop argued that the "civil rights museum is, in essence, a museum about communication."[615] The tumultuous years leading up to the 1963 demonstrations, the report argues, were predicated on a fundamental lack of communication between the black and white communities.[616] Civil rights activism reestablished a new kind of communication, and it is, therefore, the museum's "fundamental responsibility to tell the story of how men and women come to listen to one another."[617] While the BCRI's mission and purpose remain the same, it now frames its work predominately in terms of education. In writing about the BCRI in 2007, its long-time director Lawrence Pijeaux, Jr. provides a succinct explanation of the Institute's aims: "The particular mission of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute is to promote civil and human rights worldwide through education."[618] Ahmad Ward, vice president of education and exhibitions, echoes this sentiment by calling the BCRI an "education facility" whose "overall goal is to improve race relations, or gender relations,

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[614] Ibid. Andrea Taylor, most recently director of citizenship and public affairs for Microsoft, succeeded director Lawrence Pijeaux on September 8, 2015.
[615] American History Workshop, "Program Statement," June 1987, Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.
[616] Ibid.
[617] Ibid.
[618] Lawrence J. Pijeaux, Jr. "The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute: A Case Study in library, Archives, and Museum Collaboration," *RBM* 8, no.1 (Spring 2007): 56.

or religious relations."[619] The BCRI works to empower marginalized groups through education, providing information and historical context for contemporary struggles.

Communication, education, and power are also the fundamental forces within Castells's "network society." According to Castells, power lies in communication, and "the most fundamental form of power lies in the ability to shape the human mind."[620] Communication shapes minds through both the macro-level of governments and mass media and the micro-level of organizations.[621] Of course, to "shape a mind" is to educate it, which speaks to both the mission and the power of the BCRI. In some respects, the BCRI's work constitutes what Castells calls "counterpower"," meaning "the capacity of social actors to challenge the power embedded in the institutions of society for the purpose of claiming representation for their values and interests."[622] The BCRI employs education—through its museum, archive, and programming—to communicate a collective message of advocacy for racial equality and universal human rights.

Following in the tradition of Fred Shuttlesworth's Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the BCRI's scope encompasses a variety of civil and human rights issues. At the organization's founding in 1956, Shuttlesworth argued that it should have "human rights" in the title since it would fight for both whites and blacks.[623] Ward explains how he also interprets civil rights within a larger human rights context:

> I see it like this: the early foot soldiers got mad, or got upset about it being termed civil rights because when we started out it was a human rights issue. When the NAACP was kicked out of this state in 1956, Fred Shuttlesworth and others created the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights.

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[619] Ahmad Ward, Vice President of Education and Exhibitions, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, interview with author, November 2, 2015.
[620] Castells, *Communication Po*wer, 3.
[621] Ibid.
[622] Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012), 5.
[623] Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 95-96.

> This was ultimately a human rights issue for them, but because of all of this legislation it was stamped with this civil rights moniker. And unfortunately now when you say civil rights to people they automatically go to black and white and 1960s and that stuff doesn't happen anymore, which is not true. Civil rights are human rights but because of the way people think, human rights issues seem to involve all the other stuff, like poverty and religious freedom and cultural freedom, orientation and gender. Those things keep coming lumped with human rights. But it's all human rights.[624]

The BCRI has made it clear from the beginning that its mandate exceeds the traditional, ongoing cause of domestic racial equality. In an early press packet, the Institute notes that it exists "to understand our history in relation to present and future developments of human relations and democratic institutions in Birmingham, the United States and the World."[625] The current BCRI website continues and furthers this sentiment by highlighting its "increasing emphasis on the international struggle for universal human rights."[626]

A global perspective on civil and human rights was present from the Institute's inception. A 1990 letter from the contracted exhibit designers to Odessa Woolfolk noted that phase II of the museum's construction would feature a large gallery focusing on places around the globe "where people are still struggling to exercise their rights as citizens."[627] The gallery would focus on "prisoners of conscience" and be designed to "encourage visitors to consider theories of non-violent direct action and civil disobedience."[628] Its name "Beyond Birmingham: Human Rights around the World" would encapsulate the BCRI's view that the "America's Civil Rights Movement is part of

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[624] Ward, interview with author, November 2, 2015.
[625] "Birmingham Civil Rights Institute 'Press Packet,'" unprocessed collection, Birmingham Public Library, Department of Archives and Manuscripts.
[626] "About BCRI," Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, accessed January 31, 2017, http://www.bcri.org/information/aboutbcri.html
[627] Joseph A. Wetzel Associates, Inc. to Odessa Woolfolk, March 2, 1990, Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.
[628] Ibid.

an international human rights struggle that began long before the 1960s."[629] For the BCRI, the story of the American civil rights movement is interconnected with likeminded movements around the globe that both preceded and followed the historical civil rights movement in the US. As Castells reminds us when discussing activism in the network society, the "roots" of all social movements past and present "are in the fundamental injustice of all societies, relentlessly confronted by human aspirations of justice."[630] The BCRI as an educational institution embraces the universality of its history and ongoing work.

"Beyond Birmingham" not only educates visitors about global injustices but also encourages them to become agents of social progress. When the permanent exhibit opened in 1994, its press release noted that it "serves as a call for action and challenges visitors to heed the words of Dr. Martin Luther King: 'Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.'"[631] The exhibit centers on the United Nations' 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and addresses issues from South African apartheid to present-day sex trafficking. Visitors are also encouraged to tell their own stories via a computer station flanked by signs asking such questions as "Has someone you love experienced discrimination?" and "How have you coped with a bully?". Juxtaposing global injustices with a visitor's own struggle is likely to foster empathy and nudge him or her towards social action. In this respect, it reflects the overall strategy of the BCRI to cast the visitor into the role of activist. As Eskew observes, the building itself was

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[629] Birmingham Civil Rights Institute pamphlet, Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.
[630] Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 12.
[631] Florence Wilson-Davis, "International Human Rights Gallery Opens at Birmingham Civil Rights institute: Beyond Birmingham Human Rights Around the World," Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.

designed to make a visitor "feel like a civil rights supporter going to a mass meeting" and the exhibits explain racial tolerance in a manner akin to how "the movement indoctrinated its followers."[632] In terms of tangible action, exiting visitors could then sign the Birmingham Pledge or sign up for an event such as BCRI's 1996 "Speaking for the Children" conference, which was predicated on "identifying global needs, offering solutions, and preparing for the future."[633]

BCRI's education program provides another example of how the Institute blurs the distinction between advocacy and education. The BCRI encourages K-12 students to "make connections" between past and present injustices through lesson plans designed "to convey the importance of this Movement then and now."[634] Since little of BCRI's collection has been digitized, its lesson plans fail to reference the Institute's own archival resources, opting instead to point students towards reliable external sources. In a 2011 collaborative educational project with the Apartheid Museum in Soweto, South Africa, however, the BCRI did draw on its own materials. Called the International Legacy Youth Leadership Project, ten students each from Birmingham and Soweto were selected to connect and travel to each other's civil rights museums. Reflecting on when the South African students toured BCRI and met with veterans of the movement, Ward recalls

> They made a lot of parallels [been the movements] […] we could talk about this stuff all day, we've got it, but it's different when it comes from somebody who lived it or it's different when you can see the photo or touch the fabric and know that this was the actual, that this was there when this thing happened, and it's a

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632 Eskew, "New Ideology of Tolerance," 48.
633 Thebirminghampledge.org provides an explanation for and copy of the pledge: "The Birmingham pledge is a grassroots effort to recognize the worth of every individual, by making a personal, daily commitment to remove prejudice from our own lives and to treat all people with dignity and respect." Program for "Speaking for the Children," Robert Corley Collection, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute.
634 "Curriculum Guide" Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, accessed September 2, 2017, http://www.bcri.org/education_programs/CurriculumGuide.html.

> much more powerful statement when you can have a one-on-one experience with the source material, physical or inanimate.[635]

Connections made between students appear to have been real and lasting, with many remaining in touch via Facebook and other means.[636]

VI. E. Educational Advocacy through Technology

The Internet, according to Castells, is part of "a virtuous circle between the technologies of freedom and the struggle to free minds from the frames of domination."[637] Though problematic for reasons stated in the preceding literature review, Castells' observation shows how intertwined communication technologies and social justice have become. While the BCRI's work differs from the "mass self-communication" of the activists and social movements analyzed by Castells, the Institute has long capitalized on the advocacy and education potential of the Internet. BCRI has not shied away from adopting new technologies to further its mission, as shown both within its network of civil institutions and digital projects like the previously mentioned Alabama Mosaic. Perhaps most notably, Ann Jimerson of the DOVE history preservation project, worked with Anderson and the BCRI archive to create a "web-based hybrid heritage project" called *Kids in Birmingham 1963*.[638] The project sought to record and to share the previously unheard voices of "passive participants" to the most pivotal year in Birmingham's civil rights

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635 Ward, interview with author, November 2, 2015.
636 Ibid.
637 Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, 233.
638 Sonia Yaco, et al., "A Web-based community-building archives project: a case study of *Kids in Birmingham 1963*, *Archival Science* 15, no. 4 (April 2015): 399-427. DOVE is an acronym for the Desegregation of Virginia Education and, according to its website, is a collaborative venture of universities, libraries, and community groups working to make accessible and preserve materials related to school desegregation in Virginia.

history. "Passive participants," according to Yaco and her co-authors, are defined as the "city's black and white children who were not directly involved in demonstrations" and, therefore, have been left out of historical undertakings like the BCRI's oral history project.[639]

Along with expanding our understanding of Birmingham's civil rights history, the project's initial purpose "was to offer storytellers a catharsis" through recounting their part in historical events.[640] Reflecting on her interactions with "passive participants" at the BCRI, Anderson notes the therapeutic quality of their encounter with archive and archivist:

> My encounters with 'passive participants' find me more in the position of a counselor or therapist than an archivist. Persons who were affected by the Civil Rights Movement, but unable to participate in any direct ways, want to tell me their stories of being denied permission to participate or not even knowing that movement was underway. They want to talk about the bubbles in which they were forced to live either by parents or whole communities. Typically, they come to the archives as learners or researchers—seeking to familiarize themselves with a narrative that they realize they could know firsthand, or that they feel they should know firsthand, but do not.[641]

Kids in Birmingham 1963, therefore, both benefited the storyteller and the listener, as those who visited the project's website or social media channels could access first-person stories, lesson plans and other educational materials concerning the movement.[642]

Jimerson designed *Kids in Birmingham 1963* to be networked in a variety of ways. The foundations of the project itself were firmly rooted in what Yaco and her co-authors terms "partnerships among stakeholder groups." Repositories and community groups with which Jimerson and DOVE had preexisting relationships provided the project's

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639 Ibid.
640 Yaco, et al., "A Web-based community-building archives project," 414.
641 Ibid., 405-406.
642 Ibid., 408.

storytellers.[643] Jimerson also worked to connect with "community members, the media, historical institutes, libraries, and educators," which were "potential record creators, potential end users, and potential collaborators in community building."[644] Just as the project relied on a network of various stakeholders during its creation, it hoped to build another network of end users through a platform described as a "community of exchange among activists, passive observers, and contemporary students and researchers."[645] Visitors to the site can request to contact storytellers via email or in person—a feature that Jimerson built to provide "an essential continuum of the larger social justice movement."[646] A group of California secondary students, for instance, acted on this option and engaged with project storytellers at a BPL event in 2014.[647] As a networked project, *Kids in Birmingham 1963* fosters cross-generational dialogue and education, which in turn plants the seed for future acts of activism and social justice.

The BCRI's *The Struggle Continues* blog provides another instance of the Institute harnessing the Internet to further social justice. As any visitor to the site would quickly realize, the blog's design and content encapsulate the BCRI's forward-looking approach to history. Visitors to the site are first greeted by a banner composed of three amalgamated images above the words "witness," "understand," "connect," and "act." The leftmost image is a black and white archival photograph of civil rights marchers, which is connected to the image of a little girl celebrating the one-year anniversary of the Arab Spring. Joining the two is a colorful painting of an open book with the words "civil rights are human rights" next to an American flag with information about the Civil Rights Bill of

[643] Ibid., 420.
[644] Ibid.
[645] Ibid., 416.
[646] Ibid., 408.
[647] Ibid., 416.

1965. The banner itself implies that the historical civil rights movement and contemporary human rights movements such as the Arab Spring share an indirect link. Or, to borrow from the BCRI mission statement, the imagery conveys to visitors "a common past," from which we can work "together in the present to build a better future."[648]

The content of *The Struggle Continues* works both to educate the public on civil and human rights and to make explicit connections between past and present injustices and activism. Launched in conjunction with the BCRI's *Lessons of the Birmingham Movement: A Symposium on Youth, Activism and Human Rights*, the blog originated to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing, the Birmingham Children's Movement, and other seminal events happening in 1963 Birmingham.[649] Tammi Sharpe, a visiting human rights fellow, initiated and oversaw the blog for its first year to further BCRI's mission of "helping visitors understand the past's relationship to the present and future developments of human relations in Birmingham, the U.S. and abroad."[650] Since its inception the blog has had 56 posts by 17 different contributors as of October 2017. Posts cover a range of topics, from the merits of Black History month to the rise of Donald Trump. Some are straightforwardly historical in content—such as "The A.G. Gaston Hotel" and "Reconciliation and Forgiveness in the US Civil Rights Movement"—while others are opinion pieces that make connections between historical and contemporary social justice issues by pairing such topics as slavery and

[648] "About BCRI," Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, accessed January 31, 2017, http://www.bcri.org/information/aboutbcri.html
[649] Laura Anderson, "Welcome to the Struggle Continues," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), December 18, 2012 (2:54 p.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/struggle-continues
[650] Ibid.

human trafficking and the civil rights movement and the Arab Spring.[651] In fact, the blog's first post, "The Human-Rights Struggle in Egypt," was written by an Alabamian of Egyptian heritage watching its revolution unfold.[652] Its first line reads, " When my Egyptian dad saw news photos of water cannons unleashed on Cairo protesters in the first days of the January 2011 uprising in Egypt, he said 'it's like what happened in Birmingham."

Several posts in *The Struggle Continues* draw on the BCRI's archival material. Many of these excerpt interviews from the previously mentioned BCRI oral history project. Such posts might commemorate the passing of civil rights icons—such as a 2015 post excerpting an interview with Reverend Thomas Gilmore, "the sheriff without a gun"—reflect on an historical anniversary, or contribute to an event such as a 2013 posting of interview excerpts with female "foot soldiers" for International Women's Day.[653] Others are used as calls for reflection on the current state of affairs in the country. For instance, Tammi Sharpe asks in a 2013 post on Martin Luther King featuring "foot soldiers" interviews: "Does America currently have a national leader fighting for a just

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[651] Marie Sutton, "The A.G. Gaston Hotel: Once Birmingham's Premier African American Resort," The Struggle Continues (blog), December 6, 2013 (3:58), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/The-AG-Gaston-Hotel-Once-Birminghams-Premier-African-American-Resort. Rami Khouri, "Reconciliation and Forgiveness in the US Civil Rights Movement," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), April 25, 2013 (10:35 a.m..), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/Reconciliation-and-Forgiveness-in-the-US-Civil-Rights-Movement. Sunnetta 'Sunny' Slaughter, "Connecting the Dots 'Slavery is Human Trafficking Evolved,' *The Struggle Continues* (blog), July 16, 2013 (10:37 a.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/Connecting-the-Dots-Slavery-is-Human-Trafficking-Evolved-By-Sunnetta-Sunny-Slaughter. Rami Khouri, "Birmingham and the Arab Spring," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), April 22, 2013 (7:37 a.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/Birmingham-and-the-Arab-Spring.

[652] Ashley Makar, "The Human-Rights Struggle in Egypt," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), December 17, 2012 (12:25 p.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/The-Human-Rights-Struggle-in-Egypt

[653] Elizabeth Spenst, "Honoring the Memory of Reverend Gilmore, Part 1," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), September 9, 2015 (4:35 p.m.) http://strugglecontinues.org/post/honoring-the-memory-of-reverend-gilmore-part-i-by-elizabeth-spenst. Tammi Sharpe, "Young Female Foot Soldiers of the Civil Rights Movement," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), March 8, 2013 (9:26 a.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/Young-Female-Foot-Soldiers-of-the-Civil-Rights-Movement.

American society like we had in the 1960s? A leader that, as Binnie Myles said, would make you describe him/her as 'the only leader that I can honestly say that I ever followed'."[654] Such posts reflect BCRI's commitment to education, which both teaches civil rights history and suggests how that history might be applied to today's world.

Alongside oral history excerpts, the blog also posts archival images, reports and other materials for reflection or comment on current social issues. For instance, a 2013 post focuses on the 1966 report, *Birmingham: People in Motion*.[655] Commentary and historical context accompany the downloadable PDF, as well as frames how it might be interpreted in today's society:

> Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, the President of ACMHR, donated a copy of this booklet to the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Archives. Flip through the report to gain some understanding of the injustices of segregation and the sacrifices—including potential loss of employment, arrest, physical abuse and death—that it took to bring about change. Then consider this question: Since 1966, have we continued to challenge advice to 'go slow'?[656]

Ahmad Ward makes a much more explicit connection between past and present racial struggles in his 2015 post concerning the BCRI's collection of Spider Martin's images of the Selma march.[657] Ward frames the archival images and observations of Martin as part of a broader discussion on police brutality in the age of social media and online video sharing. Ward draws on Martin's account of the dangers he faced to comment on contemporary activists documenting police brutality in the Eric Garner, Walter Scott, and

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[654] Tammi Sharpe, "A Leader: A Tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King, his fellow leaders and the Birmingham foot soldiers," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), January 21, 2013 (1:44 p.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/A-Leader-A-tribute-to-Dr-Martin-Luther-King-his-fellow-leaders-and-the-Birmingham-foot-soldiers.

[655] Tammi Sharpe, "Go Slow/People in Motion," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), January 9, 2013 (5:00 p.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/Go-Slow.

[656] Ibid.

[657] Ahmad Ward, "Spider Martin: Image and Activism," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), November 19, 2015 (10:02 a.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org/post/spider-martin-image-and-activism-by-ahmad-ward

Freddie Gray cases. "The tool of activism has changed from a 35 mm camera into a cell phone […]" Ward notes, "[i]t is quite possible that in the next fifty years, we may be discussing someone's cellphone video or pictures with the same gravitas that we use with Spider's work."[658] As evidenced here, contributors to *The Struggle Continues* often look to archival materials as a way to make sense of and comment on present-day social issues.

Moreover, the blog creates an informal space for BCRI staff and affiliates to freely comment on social issues of the day and plug into the contemporary movements Birmingham influenced. Ward describes the blog as "an opportunity for us [BCRI] to broaden the scope," by providing perspectives on tangentially related issues such as Sickle Cell Anemia and Hurricane Katrina.[659] In terms of content, contributors "might be able to blur some lines" between the BCRI's self-identification as an education center and activism.[660] Posts on the blog are often more opinionated and political than official BCRI publications and statements. Many of the posts do not shy away from emotion—a vital ingredient, in Castells' opinion, for social action to take place in the network society.[661] In his exploration of the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, and other recent mass movements, he notes, "[b]y sharing sorrow and hope in the free public space of the Internet, by connecting to each other, and by envisioning projects from multiple sources of being, individuals formed networks, regardless of their personal views or organizational attachments."[662] Castells here is referring to "mass self-communication," which are "based on horizontal networks of interactive communication."[663] Even though, *The*

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[658] Ibid.
[659] Ward, interview with author, November 2, 2015.
[660] Ibid.
[661] Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope*, 2.
[662] Ibid.
[663] Ibid., 7.

Struggle Continues does allow for comments on posts and the BCRI's Facebook page facilitates some interaction, there is little two-way communication that takes place online.[664] What does happen, however, is that the BCRI can put its message into the information flows of the Internet. It can connect to a place where, according to Ward, social change happens: "[…] you can see things happening. And you never would have thought you could do that without marching and getting in people's faces. But people are creating change at a computer."[665]

VI. F. Summary

The BCRI unambiguously self-identifies as an educational institute first and foremost. As an independent non-profit with civic origins and continued city funding, it endeavors to advocate without becoming overly politicized or polarizing within the community. Its primary focus, as Laura Anderson notes, is always education: "[w]e all across the board, we're intent everyday on educating people."[666] Education for Anderson and others at the BCRI, however, is defined in terms of social justice. Reflecting on how social justice informs her work as an archivist, Anderson replies,

> No, it [social justice] completely informs the work I do. It's the only reason I work here and it's the only reason that when I try to think about working somewhere else---it's hard. Because I think any history can be interpreted to help us address a contemporary justice issue and righting a wrong but it's certainly easier in a place like this to do that work every day than it would be in another institution that either tells another story---a

[664] Unlike the genuine comments on the BCRI Facebook page, most if not all of the 93 comments on the blog appear to be SPAM.
[665] Ward, interview with author, November 2, 2015.
[666] Anderson, interview with author, November 4, 2015.

> more benign story perhaps or that would have a board of directors that wouldn't want me to tell the stories or find the stories of injustice [...].[667]

By employing its collections to further education, the BCRI has become a resource for those fighting a range of contemporary injustices.

Ward, reflecting on his work as Head of Education, acknowledges the unavoidability of advocacy in his position: "[y]ou also become an advocate when you provide programs. You have to pro and con with the people you bring in. Involuntarily you are kind of making a point."[668] Ward goes on to describe a predicament similar to the ones faced by archivists who try to remain apolitical and neutral: "I think it's a line that you try not to cross but unconsciously you're kind of crossing. You really do even with the stuff you bring in or maybe the stuff you decide not to bring in."[669] An illustrative example of how the BCRI balances advocacy and education was a photographic exhibit entitled "Living in Limbo: Lesbian Families in the Deep South." The exhibit was the BCRI's first to deal with LGBT issues and would go on to be a great success, attracting "17,000 visitors in a two month run" and, according to the Birmingham photographer behind the exhibit, "prompt[ing] much private and public dialogue about who is entitled to equality."[670] The BCRI made concessions to any school groups that might want to bypass the exhibit, and the portraits and accompanying statements were straightforward and without explicit political comment. Ward did not view the BCRI as "taking a stand" on the issue as much as simply fulfilling its mission and mandate. "If cultural institutions are

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667 Ibid.
668 Ward, Interview with author, November 2, 2015.
669 Ibid.
670 James Michael Nicholas, "Photographer Carolyn L. Sherer Documents 'Living in Limbo: Lesbian Families in the Deep South'," *Huffington Post*, last modified February 2, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/06/06/living-in-limbo-carolyn-sherer_n_7512032.html.

not willing to do those kind of things, why are we here? What are we scared of?"[671] Not unlike the Linen Hall Library's "engaged neutrality", the BCRI's approach is a kind of educational advocacy, wherein it engages social justice issues carefully and with the intent to inform.

Furthermore, "Living in Limbo" shows how the Institute draws on its various networks. Ward notes that both the BCRI's reputation and the backing of key community leaders were pivotal to the exhibit's success:

> Our reputation was enough nationally that we could do that show. And people were like 'ah well, the civil rights institute is doing it, ok, we get it,' and it kind of insulated us. We had folks in high places that we're like, 'yeah, this is a good idea,' and there were people who would get people to back up off of us too. Bishop Calvin Woods who---love that guy---he marched was arrested, attacked, and he's over 80---we reached out to him and head of NAACP before time and told him this was what we were going to do. And he was like 'OK,' because he understands---he's not going to get in front of his congregation and be like, 'yeah, this is something we ought to support,' but he also understands what the scope of the facility is.[672]

Bishop Woods's support speaks to the strength of these civic networks, wherein community leaders set aside personal differences of opinion to support the institution. BCRI's interconnectedness with the city's individuals and institutions has driven the Institute's work from its inception to the present-day. While each archive researched for this dissertation is predicated to some degree on education and networking, none have it so intrinsically built into their mission and everyday work.

Though the BCRI archive is a part of a larger institutional whole, its value to the organization, city, and beyond is obvious. Once again, *The Living in Limbo* exhibit provides an illustrative example of the archive's role within the institution. BCRI's

[671] Ibid.
[672] Ibid.

handling of the exhibit and ongoing relationship with its creator led to an understanding that the papers of the nonprofit of the same name will be housed at the Institute.[673] According to Anderson, these are the types of collections that BCRI hopes to build: "I always am saying 50 years from now people are going to turn around and say what was happening in the early 2000s [a]nd for us it's that struggle [LGBTQ] and it's the Hispanic […] the Alabama Coalition for Immigrant Justice, so we've talked to them as well about getting their papers."[674] By pursuing these papers, the archive ensures that the BCRI's commitment to issues like LGTBQ and immigrant rights extend beyond temporary exhibits and programs. It also exemplifies how the BCRI will continue to evolve and enter the social justice fray via its progressive approach to education. Its archive, as a node in both internal and external networks, intends to continue furthering civil and human rights through education as long as "the struggle continues" in Birmingham and around the world.

[673] Anderson, Interview with author, November 4, 2015.
[674] Ibid.

VII. "HISTORY IS LUNCH": NEUTRALITY AND THE MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

On June 12, 1963, the day that the NAACP's Medgar Evers was shot and killed, an investigator named A. L. Hopkins was gathering information from his informants. In his report to the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, Hopkins notes,

> I contacted two more informants that have furnished me a lot of valuable information to ascertain what the Negroes were saying about the death of Medgar Evers. These two informants had not heard any remarks made by Negroes regarding this incident in their places of business near Tougaloo Christian College; however, they did report that large number of Negroes were congregating at Tougaloo that day.[675]

Reports such as this are indicative of Mississippi at the time, where civil rights proponents were under constant surveillance by the Commission. On Evers alone, investigators would collect reams of information on everything from his license plate number to his father's reputation among whites as a "good Negro [sic]" to the supposed jealousy of peers at the local Elks Lodge.[676] These reports were meticulously recorded with a filing system modeled on that of the FBI. The previous report from Hopkins, for instance, would have the identifier 1-23-0-74-1-1-1, with the first "1" marking its subject matter as pertaining to a "race agitator." In the phrasing of historian J. Michael Butler, the

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[675] Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, "Investigation of the death of Medgar Evers, Mississippi Field Representative for the NAACP," June 17, 1963, SCRID # 1-23-0-74-1-1-1, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records, 1994-2006, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, accessed June 11, 2017,http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd01/001697.png&otherstuff=1|23|0|74|1|1|1|1658|.

[676] See: Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, "Investigation of the death of Medgar Evers, Mississippi Field Representative for the NAACP," June 17, 1963, SCRID # 1-23-0-70-1-1-1, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records, 1994-2006, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, accessed August 28, 2017, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd01/001676.png&otherstuff=1|23|0|70|1|1|1|1638|).

commission acted as a "Cotton-Patch Gestapo," building a vast surveillance network dependent on the complicity of ordinary Mississippians.[677]

The Commission is representative of the "Mississippi of the Old South" as identified in Carol V. R. George's *One Mississippi, Two Mississippi*—a land blighted by Jim Crow laws, the Ku Klux Klan, and nostalgia for the *Lost Cause*.[678] This Mississippi, George reminds us, has "deep roots" and "continues to grow new branches" with many African Americans still hampered by "the continuing barriers of second-generation Jim Crow laws.[679] The "other Mississippi" is future-oriented, focusing on issues such as education reform and voter mobilization; the emerging, progressive Mississippi prizes "compassion and tolerance" above all else.[680] The construction of the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum provides a superlative example of the latter version of the state. As the state's comprehensive historical center since 1902, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) has been both witness to and participant in both versions of the state. In this chapter, I explore the institution's origins in the Jim Crow South before tracing its development through the civil rights movement in Mississippi. My primary focus, however, is the use of civil rights materials since the 1998 opening of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission records. Along with the specific case of the Commission records, I analyze the role of civil rights materials in archival exhibits, outreach, and education. The chapter concludes with MDAH's future plans and work

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[677] J. Michael Butler, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and Beach Integration, 1959-1963: A Cotton Patch Gestapo?" *The Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 1 (February 2002): 147. While Butler, admits that it "may be a stretch" to compare civil rights era-Mississippi and Nazi Germany, he believes it to be an apt comparison in terms of public complicity. As I will explore later, a parallel could also be drawn between the meticulous record keeping of both groups.

[678] Carol V. R. George, *One Mississippi, Two Mississippi: Methodists, Murder, and the Struggle for Racial Justice in Neshoba County* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), 3.

[679] Ibid.

[680] Ibid.

towards racial reconciliation, with particular emphasis on the forthcoming Mississippi Civil Rights Museum. Ultimately, I argue that through its programming, partnerships, and digital projects, MDAH has fostered a space for furthering racial reconciliation in Mississippi.

VII. A. An Old South Archive

Ernst Posner's history of state archives noted that in 1941 MDAH was housed in a small, inadequate space within the War Memorial building.[681] The location seems fitting given the institution's origins within a segregated, post-reconstruction South desperate to memorialize a politically romanticized Lost Cause history of the Confederacy. Both the first and second directors of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History—Dunbar Rowland (1902-1937) and William McCain (1938-1955)—perpetuated the dominant, pro-Southern view of history. MDAH was not unique in this respect, as most public archives in the South furthered the Lost Cause narrative by focusing on records and materials related to the Confederacy. Historian Fitzhugh Brundage explains the intersection of archives and the project to memorialize the Confederacy:

> For the United Confederate Veterans and the Sons of Confederate Veterans, campaigning for historical repositories was an extension of their campaign to preserve the 'true history' of the South's failed experiment in nationhood. While the federal government scrupulously preserved Union records, it had made no comparable commitment to conserve those of the Confederacy. Aside from their practical benefits to veterans, who would be able to trace more easily their war

[681] Ernst Posner, *American State Archives* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 159.

> records (and secure state pensions), public archives would be reliquaries of the Lost Cause.[682]

As shown by Brundage's quotation, archives across the South joined in the larger project to collect neglected Confederate records and further a pro-South narrative of history. In this respect, MDAH was anything but neutral during its first half-century of existence.

When the board of trustees of the Mississippi Historical Society selected Dunbar Rowland to direct the nascent state archive, it was with an implicit directive to perpetuate a Lost Cause version of history. As Galloway notes, the board had already made its intents clear in a previous statement: "Mississippi, in common with the other Southern states, is entering upon a great historical renaissance and the people of the South are beginning to realize as never before that 'there is nothing wrong with our history, but in the writing of it.'[683] The founding of the State Archives of Mississippi in 1902 came on the heels of the nation's first state archive in Alabama, which had been established with a similar rationale and purpose. According to Brundage, boosters of the archive argued that it would be a place "to which the patriotic heart of all Alabamians could turn with pride and delight."[684] For Alabama, Mississippi, and the rest of the South, archives and museums provided a means to counter the humiliation of reconstruction with a narrative of an honorable South ever defiant in defeat.

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[682] Fitzhugh Brundage, *Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 125.
[683] Qtd. in Patricia Galloway, "Archives, Power, and History: Dunbar Rowland and the Beginning of the State Archives of Mississippi (1902-1936)," *The American Archivist* 69 (Spring/Summer 2006), 88.
[684] Qtd. in Brundage, *Southern Past*, 115. The website for the Alabama Department of Archives and History also mentions its origins in memorializing the Confederacy: "Through the 1890s, the feeling of a need to honor those who had served the Confederacy grew increasingly stronger. This memorial movement led to the establishment of patriotic societies, the erection of monuments, and the creation of the Department of Archives and History as an institution in which key documents and artifacts could be preserved. "History of the Alabama Department of Archives and History," Alabama Department of Archives and History, accessed May 18, 2017, http://www.archives.alabama.gov/intro/adah.html .

As director from 1902 to 1937, Rowland had an unparalleled influence on the development of MDAH's collections with his first task being "the sacred duty to preserve" the records of Mississippi's Confederate soldiers.[685] By prioritizing records that "support[ed] his own views and that looked determinedly backward to a romanticized Lost Cause of the Confederacy," argues Galloway, Rowland "failed to obtain collections that were representative of all the people of Mississippi while they were still available to collect."[686] Furthermore, Galloway's research shows Rowland used his position as director to advocate enthusiastically for a pro-South telling of history. In an illustrative example, she recounts Rowland's remarks at a 1902 address on race relations in the South: "he [Rowland] painted a chivalrous picture of antebellum planter society and a lurid portrait of carpetbagger Reconstruction […] His argument, buttressed by legal citations, advocated that the inferior black race be segregated from the white race and that it never be allowed political control in the South again."[687] During his tenure, Rowland instituted sound archival practices at MDAH, which in turn were employed to further the state's agenda of white supremacy.[688]

Rowland remained director until his passing in 1937, after which William D. McCain became the MDAH's director. With the outbreak of World War II during his tenure, McCain served with the Monuments Men before departing to accept the presidency of the University of Southern Mississippi in 1955.[689] During his leadership of

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[685] Galloway, "Archives, Power, and History," 92, 98.
[686] Ibid., 115.
[687] Ibid., 91-92.
[688] For more information on Rowland's archival legacy at MDAH, see: "Dunbar Rowland's Tenure at MDAH," *A Sense of Place: Collections Blog*, March 15, 2011, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/senseofplace/2011/03/15/dunbar-rowlands-tenure-at-mdah/ .
[689] See: Galloway, "Archives, Power, and History," 114, and "Mississippi's Monuments Man: William D. McCain," *A Sense of Place: Collections Blog*, February 7, 2014,

Mississippi's Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) from 1953 to 1962, McCain bolstered the membership of "an attractive organization for giving white men the kind of identity they valued and confidence to fight to maintain their superior status in the South."[690] Furthermore, McCain was, according to historian Alyssa D. Warrick, "working in concert with the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission against Civil Rights workers and the NAACP."[691] Unsurprisingly, McCain's time at MDAH shows an archival bias towards preserving Confederate history to the exclusion of African American history. In his 1950 history and program rationale of the MDAH for *The American Archivist*, for instance, McCain emphasizes its Confederate holdings without any acknowledgement of the history of Mississippi's sizeable African American population.[692] Interestingly, though, McCain would later acknowledge the practical toll of Mississippi's systemic racism: "White supremacy has been gained at a terrible cost. The people of Mississippi would have undoubtedly preferred an inefficient and even corrupt government in the hands of white men, than a perfect government in which there was a danger of Negro control."[693]

It would take the arrival of Charlotte Capers as MDAH's third director to begin a change in the institution's practices and politics. Though Capers had a cosmopolitan perspective—as shown by her many contributions to the *New York Times Review of Books*—she remained devoted to her home state of Mississippi. A shrewd and lively

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http://www.mdah.ms.gov/senseofplace/2014/02/07/mississippis-monuments-man-william-d-mccain/

690 Alyssa D. Warrick, " 'Mississippi's Greatest Hour': the Mississippi Civil War Centennial and Southern Resistance, *Southern Cultures* 19, no. 3 (Fall 2013): 108-109. Warrick also suggests that McCain might have had a hand in crafting the SCV's motto during the 1960s: "Preserving the courage of the 1860's amidst the problems of the 1960's." The organization's archival library was named in honor of McCain after his death.

691 Ibid.

692 William D. McCain, "History and Program of the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History," *The American Archivist* 13, no. 1 (Jan.,1950): 27-34.

693 Qtd. in James W. Silver, *Mississippi: The Closed Society* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, [1964] 2012), 18.

observer of Southern culture, Capers was described by author and friend Eudora Welty as someone who "sees the social world we all move in with its history behind it, too, that built and shaped and sometimes shadowed, our own times."[694] Unlike her predecessor, Capers emphasized her service to the entire state, writing in the 1965 annual report, "the value of a department of the state government to the people of the state should be measured by the service it renders to the public."[695] During her time as director from 1955 to 1969, Capers modernized MDAH's archival practices in an unprecedented fashion. In consultation with renowned archivist, Ernst Posner, she began keeping detailed statistics on patron requests and use, as well as solved the department's storage problems by persisting to push legislators to create what would become the new Archives and History building in 1971.[696] She also was responsible for spearheading a long campaign to bring a records management program to the state and played a key role in the restoration of the old capital building.[697] Crucial to that capital project was the previously mentioned Winter, whom Capers had asked to join the board in 1957. Forty-years later, he would be breaking ground to the state's new Civil Rights Museum.[698]

Elbert R. Hilliard followed R. A. McLemore's brief tenure as director at MDAH, ushering in a commitment to building African American and civil rights collections. In the annual report for 1975 to 1976, for instance, the Department accessioned a slavery collection purchased from LSU Library and placed major emphasis on "loca[ting] and

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[694] Eudora Welty, forward to *The Capers Papers*, by Charlotte Capers (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1982), 10. For one example of the style of Capers's book reviews, see: Charlotte Capers, "Fortune Hunter at the Old White: Roses from the South," *New York Times* (New York, NY), January 25, 1959.
[695] Mississippi Department of Archives and History, *1965 Annual Report*, 8.
[696] Ibid. Charlotte Capers, "In Memoriam Ernst Posner 1892-1980," *The Primary Source*, 2, no. 2 (May 1980): 4.
[697] Capers, "In Memoriam," 4.
[698] Amanda Lyons, "Giving Shape and Substance to Our Society: William F. Winter, Leadership, and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History," *The Southern Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (Fall 2016): 118.

acquir[ing] materials on the history of Blacks in Mississippi both in manuscript and published form."[699] Hilliard would continue to build MDAH's civil rights collections with an oral history project collecting the stories of Mississippians involved in the movement during the 1960s. The resulting collection, along with other ongoing oral history projects, would span several years and "be used by scholars and researchers," as well as provide material for multiple publications.[700] In 1983, the National Endowment for the Humanities awarded MDAH a grant for an exhibit devoted to the civil rights movement, while other grant funding was used to create a computerized finding aid for a newsfilm collection that included "valuable material pertaining to the Civil Rights Movement."[701] Under Hilliard and later Hank Holmes, the department would steadily build an impressive collection of African American and civil rights material related to the state of Mississippi.

MDAH under Hilliard's direction also collected the materials of those working counter to the civil rights movement. Along with the Sovereignty Commission records, which I will discuss in more depth in later sections, MDAH has collected Ku Klux Klan materials, and the records of the white supremacist Citizens Councils. Between 1973 and 1975, for instance, MDAH acquired three boxes of Citizen Council records, as well as a collection of Citizen Council Forum Films.[702] Reflecting on MDAH's commitment to documenting all sides of the state's civil rights story, former Archives and Records Services Director, Julia Young, sees such collecting practices as a way for the department

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[699] Mississippi Department of Archives and History, *1975-76 Annual Report*, 17.
[700] Mississippi Department of Archives and History, *1978-79 Annual Report*, 16 and Mississippi Department of Archives and History, *1980-1981 Annual Report*, 18.
[701] Mississippi Department of Archives and History, *1973-74 Annual Report* and Mississippi Department of Archives and History, *1974-75 Annual Report*.
[702] Mississippi Department of Archives and History, *1977-78 Annual Report*, 13.

to "provide a safe place for conversation and dialogue."[703] MDAH's ability to foster an open space for dialogue owes much to the political independence identified by Hilliard in 1977:

> Its [MDAH] accomplishments and reputation for service have been largely due to the generous support of the Mississippi Legislature, to the counsel of the distinguished trustees, to the leadership of its first four directors, and to **its unique nonpolitical governing structure** [emphasis added].[704]

Only by remaining "free of partisanship and political patronage," Hilliard explains, could MDAH fulfill its mission to provide "documentation and interpretation of the State's history."[705] Though obviously still beholden to the legislature for funding, MDAH's governance—an independent agency with a head who reports only and directly to the legislature—helps sustain its unique potential to facilitate social justice.

VII. B. Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission

When the Commission records arrived at MDAH in 1977, it presented an opportunity for the Department to prove itself an independent, unbiased repository serving the interest of all Mississippians. Although the move to MDAH guaranteed the preservation of Commission materials, the legislature mandated that all files be sealed for fifty years.[706] The following year, the American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU] filed a federal suit on

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[703] Julia Marks Young, Division Director, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, interview with author, November 5, 2015.
[704] Mississippi Department of Archives and History, *1977-78 Annual Report*, 9.
[705] Ibid. Hilliard's history of MDAH also emphasizes the importance of MDAH being apolitical. Elbert Hilliard, "The Mississippi Department of Archives and History," *The Primary Source* 25, no. 2 (2003): 2.
[706] Mississippi Department of Archives and History, *1978-79 Annual Report*, 16-17.

behalf of ninety-four individuals and six organizations that the files be opened.[707] The ACLU won that ruling and the MDAH began preparing for release before another federal ruling temporarily reversed the decision.[708] Plaintiffs were thereby barred from records directly observing and commenting on their own lives. Though discouraging for litigants, the struggle would continue for decades with ethical and archival repercussions. The following section explores the issues raised by the case while focusing on MDAH's stewardship of the Commission records. More specifically, I hope to show how the endeavor to preserve and provide access to the collection is an exemplar of the state archive's attempt to take an active and unbiased approach to civil rights materials.

The Mississippi Legislature created the Commission in 1956 as a response to the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that segregated public schools were unconstitutional. Sarah Rowe Sims, a special projects officer in MDAH's Archives and Library Division, recounts the Commission's mission to protect Mississippi from "encroachment thereon by the Federal Government or any branch, department or agency thereof; to resist the usurpation of the rights and powers reserved to this state and our sister states by the Federal Government or any branch, department or agency thereof."[709] The agency set about accomplishing its objectives with a small team consisting of a director, public relations director, investigators, and clerical staff.[710] Although the Commission would liken itself to the FBI, it more closely resembled the spy network of a totalitarian government or police state. Its work depended on a web of black and white informers who supplied the Commission with information about their friends and neighbors. Percy

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[707] Ibid.
[708] Ibid.
[709] Sarah Rowe-Sims, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: An Agency History," *Journal of Mississippi History* 61 (Spring 1999): 29.
[710] Ibid., 30.

Greene, for instance, was both the black editor of the *Jackson Advocate* and a Commission informer for nearly ten years.[711] While Greene's conservatism and outspoken support of segregation made him an unsurprising informant, other informers remained undetected within the African American community.

Naturally, the Commission did not work in a vacuum but rather formed an integral part of what University of Mississippi historian, James Silver, famously called the "closed society." According to Silver, a "closed society" indoctrinates its citizens to a common social view, leaving no space for major dissent. Furthermore, as Silver relates, "with a substantial challenge from the outside—to slavery in the 1850's and to segregation in the 1950's—the society tightly closes its ranks, becomes inflexible and stubborn, and lets no scruple, legal or ethical, stand in the way of the enforcement of the orthodoxy."[712] In Mississippi, citizens from all walks of life were culpable in perpetuating the "closed society," from the "men of good will" too frightened to act to "the press, the clergy, businessmen, labor leaders, lawyers, judges, politicians, educators, and patriots" who defended the status quo.[713] William Winter's reflection on the 1962 Ole Miss integration riot makes a similar observation: "[t]he guilt for it [the riots] were on all of our hands" for

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[711] See: Julian Williams, "Percy Greene and the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission," *Journalism History* 28, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 66-72.

[712] Silver, *The Closed Society*, 6. The quotation comes from a full outlining of how a closed society takes shape: "For whatever reason, the community sets up the orthodox view. Its people are constantly indoctrinated—not a difficult task, since they are inclined to the accepted creed by circumstance. When there is no effective challenge to the code, a mild toleration of dissent is evident, provided the non-comformist is tactful and does not go far. But with a substantial challenge from the outside—to slavery in the 1850's and to segregation in the 1950's—the society tightly closes its ranks, becomes inflexible and stubborn, and lets no scruple, legal or ethical, stand in the way of the enforcement of the orthodoxy. The voice of reason is stilled and the moderate either goes along or is eliminated. Those in control during such times of crisis are certain to be extremists whose decisions are determined by their conformity to the orthodoxy. The likelihood of intelligent decisions is thus being reduced, and eventual disaster is predictable."

[713] Ibid., 145, 71.

creating and maintaining a "closed society."[714] Although each Deep South state had its own version of a "closed society," Mississippi's was unique in both degree and duration. According to Silver, no other Southern state "has clung so much more desperately to its closed society" than Mississippi, thereby resulting in an inefficient and corrupt government and the shameful distinction of being the last state to have "complete public school segregation"[715]

In order to maintain a "closed society" amidst outside pressure from the federal government, Mississippi looked to the Commission and other state and civic organizations to enforce orthodoxy. Silver writes that the state's "doctrine of white supremacy is guarded by a bureaucracy, by ceaseless, high-powered, and skillful indoctrination employing both persuasion and fear, and by the elimination, without regard for law or ethics of those who will not go along."[716] The Commission shows how that "indoctrination" was woven into the fabric of governance itself, with Rowe-Simms bluntly describing it as "the state's official tax-funded agency to combat activities of the civil rights movement."[717] Although, as Rowe-Simms relates, the Commission would emphasize certain duties depending on its director and governor at the time, its three core functions were "investigative, advisory, and public relations," wherein it "spied on civil rights workers, acted as a clearing-house for information on civil rights activities and legislation from around the nation, funneled funds to pro-segregation causes, and disseminated right-wing propaganda."[718] The Commission, long known for its ineptitude,

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[714] William F. Winter, "Opening Doors in a Closed Society," *Essays on Deepening the American Dream* 16 (Winter 2010) (Kalamazoo, MI: Fetzer Institute, 2010), 2.
[715] Silver, *The Closed Society*, 10, 18, 64.
[716] Ibid., 151.
[717] Rowe Sims, "An Agency History," 34.
[718] Ibid.

would come to be seen as something of a joke before ceasing operations in 1973 and fully dissolving in 1977.[719]

The Commission's records—constituting "six filing cabinets, two unsealed pasteboard boxes said to contain fiscal records, two separate folders in a manila envelope, and a bound volume which was said to be a minute book"—were in peril of being destroyed following the agency's closure.[720] Representative John Sharp Holmes introduced an amendment to burn Commission records to prevent a "witch hunt" of those implicated.[721] Unsurprisingly, the Commission itself had likely already destroyed some of its records. In a 1965 memo cc'd to the Governor's Office, then director, Erle Johnston, Jr. ordered staff to "remove from the files any reports of investigators which might in any way be construed to mean that the Sovereignty Commission has interfered in any way with voter registration drives or demonstrations."[722] The memo goes on to state that a "decision on disposal [of reports] will be forthcoming"—a logical move given that the Justice Department would later look to sealed Commission records to investigate voter registration.[723] Fortunately calls from other legislators, Director Hilliard, and a resolution from the MDAH Board of Trustees "strongly imploring the legislature" not to destroy Commission files, were enough to ensure their preservation.[724]

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719 Ibid., 50.
720 Ibid., 52.
721 Ibid., *53.* A few days later an additional small package of records arrived from the governor's office.
722 Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, "Files and Future Procedures," February 8, 1965, SCRID # 99-62-0-33-1-1-1, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records, 1994-2006, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, accessed June 25, 2017, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd10/083182.png&otherstuff=99|62|0|33|1|1|1|82138|.
723 Ibid. David Pilcher, Electronic Archives, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, interview with author, November 6, 2015.
724 Rowe-Sims, "An Agency History," 52. Director Hilliard argued that the records of this "unpopular or unfortunate period of history" should be preserved for future historians. Yasuhiro Katagiri, *Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission* (Oxford: University Press of Mississippi, 2001),183.

Arguments to preserve the records tended to emphasize both their historical value and potential to help Mississippians heal and move on from the injustices of the past. Winter, who was a former lieutenant governor at the time and president of the MDAH Board of Trustees, alluded to both factors in his statement on the Commission records, stating that there was "too much historical value in these records to destroy them" and that their destruction would be "inconsistent with the way we do things and smacks of totalitarianism."[725] As Rowe Sims's history shows, other legislators shared Winter's opinion and spoke out about not wanting "to be characterized as book burners" and the futility of "shoving it under the rug."[726] Even a former Commission member admitted to the need to preserve them for historical significance.[727] Katherine Wisser and Joel Blanco-Rivera's comparative analysis of state intelligence records categorized the Commission among international agencies whose records were not destroyed and are now open "with clear policies."[728] Though initially sealed, the fact that the Commission records were preserved at all was indicative of Mississippi's conscious move away from its "closed society" of the past. The state was now poised to begin a new relationship with history, wherein it acknowledged ignominious recent events—the Ole Miss riots, the murder of Medgar Evers, and the murders of civil rights workers in Neshoba County—as a means to move forward into a more peaceful and prosperous future.

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[725] Qtd. in Rowe-Sims, "An Agency History," 53.
[726] Ibid., 51-52
[727] Ibid., 53.
[728] Katherine M. Wisser and Joel A. Blanco-Rivera, "Surveillance, Documentation and Privacy: An International Comparative Analysis of State Intelligence Records," *Archival Science* 16 (2016): 135-140. East Germany's Stasi and Mexico's Federal Directorate of Security fall within the same classification as MDAH.

VII. C. Access, Privacy, and the Sovereignty Commission Online

The eventual release and digitization of the Commission records provided a tangible marker of Mississippi's opening of its "closed society." For the state archive to gain the public's trust its work had to be apolitical and thoroughly transparent—the antithesis of the Commission records they would be opening. It also had to show sensitivity to the Commission's victims by allowing them to remain anonymous. An ongoing dialogue between MDAH and the public was vital to releasing records fraught with such political implications and personal trauma. It provided a rare opportunity for state actors to regain public trust by acting on behalf of all of Mississippi's citizens—a task made possible by an MDAH that had proven its independence and social conscience under the leadership of Elbert Hilliard. The following section examines MDAH's opening and digitization of Commission records with an emphasis on their archival and social justice implications.

As a government archive, MDAH itself was entangled in the governance that had created the Commission records with which it was now entrusted. Just as the Department had been implicated in the racist power structures that led to the creation of the Commission, it now had the power to ameliorate the state government's legacy of divisions and ongoing trauma. As Pat Galloway argues in her case study of Mississippi's electronic recordkeeping initiative, " [a]s archivists we need to recognize that the records of government embody power and to admit that we ourselves unavoidably help to construct what counts as the official record of state government by managing and

collecting it—*and by failing to do so*."[729] By advocating for the preservation of the Commission files, MDAH avoided the sin of omission and helped ensure that the state would be held accountable for deeds many of its legislatures would as soon forget.

When David Pilcher, current Archives and Records Services Director, arrived at MDAH straight out of college in 1985, the Commission records "were stored in the vault and were under seal."[730] As previously mentioned, the records were the subject of a lengthy court battle initiated by the ACLU/M to open the records public following their move to MDAH in 1977. The twenty-one year long struggle centered on, as Pilcher and Rowe-Simms observe, "balancing the demands of public access with the rights of privacy protection."[731] The files would remain sealed for years with the only exceptions being instances such as a United States Justice Department search for information pertaining to a judicial redistricting case in 1988.[732] The following year Judge Barbour ruled that the state had acted unconstitutionally in sealing the Commission records, and that the files should be released as public records. Influencing Barbour's decision were multiple leaks from sources outside of MDAH and the availability of some commission documents at the University of Southern Mississippi at Hattiesburg.[733] Finally, in 1994, Judge Barbour

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729 Patricia Galloway, *Mississippi Electronic Records Initiative: A Case Study in State Government Electronic Record, Final Report* (Jackson, MS. Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 2000), 27-28.
730 Pilcher, interview with author, November 6, 2015.
731 Sarah Rowe-Simms and David Pilcher, "The Conversion of the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records," *The Primary Source* 21, no. 1 (1999): 18.
732 For further detail on the provenance of the records, see "Sovereignty Commission Online," Mississippi Department of Archives and History, accessed June 27, 2017, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/colldesc.php.
733 Lisa K. Speer, "Fresh Focus: Mississippi's 'Spy Files': The State Sovereignty Commission Records Controversy, 1977-1999," *Provenance, Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 17, no. 1 (January 1999): 110.

released a memorandum both ordering the files to be opened and suggesting access be provided through a "computer imaging system."[734]

Alongside the ethical and legal challenges of the Commission records the order now presented a major technical hurdle for MDAH. The archive had no previous experience in imaging and looked to archivists who dealt with governmental records to learn the skills necessary.[735] Rowe-Simms and Pilcher describe the "crash course" that the "MDAH Official Records Section underwent": "Staff members spoke to and corresponded with people who did have experience with imaging, gathered published information on the topic, viewed government imaging systems in action, and attended vendor demonstrations."[736] Working in conjunction with the Mississippi Department of Information Technology Services, a request for proposal went out for a vender to take on the project. SYSCON of Tuscaloosa, Alabama won the contract and began working with MDAH staff to implement the judge's order. MDAH's first foray into imaging had begun.

Given that the judge originally allowed only one year for the scanning and indexing of Commission records, MDAH had to factor its time constraints into all decisions.[737] With SYSCON on board, they began developing a plan for input, retrieval and access within the database, which would draw on the Commission's own file

[734] Rowe-Simms and Pilcher," The Conversion," 19. Pilcher recalls the judge offering several options on how to provide access, but he and the rest of the staff felt that the only way to comply with the judge's order was to embark on an imaging project. Pilcher, interview with author, November 6, 2015.
[735] Pilcher, interview with author, November 6, 2015.
[736] Rowe-Simms and Pilcher, "The Conversion," 19.
[737] Ibid. The original timetable was altered by subsequent appeals.

numbering system.[738] Pilcher describes how work proceeded both in terms of day-to-day operations and the working relationship between MDAH and SYSCON:

> It was really a three-person team that did the actual scanning. And quality control and then began with the indexing. And it was really two scanners going—kind of all day long […] And it was a great working relationship with them and so basically we were just kind of in constant contact with them about—[like if] we've discovered there is a little change we need to make in the software, there's something we didn't anticipate in the indexing and they would just work with us throughout and on the fly to make it happen.[739]

The hard work of those involved ensured that MDAH met the necessary deadlines as laid out by the court. According to Rowe-Simms and Pilcher, an average of 1000 images were scanned and checked per day, which meant that by summer 1995 the database had approximately 132,700 images.[740]

Other parts of the judge's order directly addressed the rights of the Commission's victims.[741] Commission records were, after all, surreptitious and unauthorized glimpses into the private lives of citizens, many of whom might now wish to keep their records private. Yasuhiro Katigura's *Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission* recounts how Judge Barbour weighed issues of privacy and access when formulating "a series of complicated and time-consuming procedures" to protect those named in Commission records: "the Department of Archives and History was directed to place a public notice in the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and *USA Today* to 'sufficiently notify those who may have been victims of unlawful Commission activities as to their rights as set

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[738] Ibid, 20. The Commission's system for categorization provides further insight into the scope of their operations: (1) Race Agitators (2) Integration Organizations (3) School Integration (4) Civil Rights-Elections (5) Civil Rights-Violence (6) Miscellaneous-Inquiry Concerning (7) Administrative-Office (8)Administrative-Personnel (9) Administrative-Informants (10) Publicity-General (11) Criminal Cases (12) Speeches (13) Subversion. Ibid.

[739] Pilcher, interview with author, November 6, 2015.

[740] Rowe-Simms and Pilcher, "The Conversion," 22.

[741] Judge Barbour defined a victim as anyone who was "subject to investigation, surveillance, intrusions or the dissemination of false and misleading information by the Sovereignty Commission." Qtd. in Speer, "Fresh Focus: Mississippi's 'Spy Files," 111.

forth' in his decision."[742] Though later appealed, these were the instructions MDAH followed preceding the release of any records. Pilcher describes how the process proceeded in three parts: a notification period, a period "where people could write in and requests to see things that had been indexed with their name," and a period wherein victims could "make a decision about whether or not they wanted to exercise any type of privacy."[743]

The privacy versus access debate continued after the public release of Commission records on March 17, 1998. According to the *New York Times*, "only about 1,000 of the 60,000 people mentioned in the files" responded to the notifications, and, in at least one case, a women mentioned in a Commission report "had no idea such files existed" and was embarrassed by the report's release.[744] Barbour himself admitted that "no system of disclosure is perfect" and the balance between privacy and access is difficult—if not impossible—to strike. As Lisa Speer observes in a 1999 issue of *Provenance*, there exists a "heavy responsibility faced by the courts and the archival community of balancing individual privacy rights and public interest."[745] Rowe-Sims and her MDAH co-authors draw similar conclusions, noting the "ominous responsibility" and "murky waters of privacy and access rights" that archivists must navigate.[746] Though admittedly imperfect,

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[742] Katagiri, *Mississippi State Sovereignty Com*mission, 188.
[743] Pilcher, interview with author, November 6, 2015.
[744] Rick Bragg, "Old Allies Part Ways on Opening Files of Hate," *The New York Times* (New York, NY), March 18, 1998. Sarah Rowe-Sims and her co-authors identify 87,000 unique names out of 300,000 names occurring in the records. Sarah Rowe-Sims, Sandra Boyd., H. T. Holmes, "Balancing Privacy and Access: Opening the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records," in *Privacy and Confidentiality Perspectives: Archivists and Archival Records*, eds. M.L. Behrnd-Klodt , P.J. Wosk (Chicago: Society of American Archivists), 168.
[745] Speer, "Fresh Focus: Mississippi's Spy Files," 115.
[746] Rowe-Sims, et. al., "Balancing Privacy and Access," 160.

both Barbour and MDAH worked to balance, in Speer's words, "individual privacy rights with the public's right to know."[747]

The impact of the Commission electronic records was hard to gauge when first released. Access was initially limited to a few computer workstations within the library with users registering for one-hour blocks of use.[748] Rowe-Sims describes the scene inside the archive at the 1998 opening:

> Initially, the media blitzed the archives, hurriedly scanning the pages for a possible 'smoking gun.' A hesitant public trickled into the library. Students, historians, and researchers began to comb through the records. Individuals came to search for information on themselves as well as friends and relatives. Some, like the family of assassinated civil rights activist Vernon Dahmer, came seeking justice, hoping to find evidence to help convict Dahmer's killers. Others were driven by curiosity.[749]

While such a range of users indicates a positive sign of access and use, Speer pointed out in 1999 that as of then "scholarly researchers have paid only modest attention to the files in the almost three years since their opening."[750] In the years since then, however, Commission records have been used in a range of books and articles with such diverse titles as "The Citizens Council and Africa: White Supremacy in Global Perspective" and *Kill Anything that Moves: the Real American War in Vietnam*.[751]

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[747] Speer, "Fresh Focus: Mississippi's Spy Files," 111.
[748] Rowe-Sims reports that initial users had access to three computer workstations, while Speer writes that there were only two workstations. Rowe-Sims, "An Agency History," 57 and Speer, "Fresh Focus: Mississippi's Spy Files," 114.
[749] Rowe-Sims, "An Agency History," 57-58.
[750] Speer, "Fresh Focus: Mississippi's Spy Files," 114.
[751] Stephanie R. Rolph, "The Citizens' Council and Africa: White Supremacy in Global Perspective," *Journal of Southern History* 82, no. 3 (August 2016): 617-650. Nick Turse, *Kill Anything that Moves: the Real American War in Vietnam* (New York: Picador, 2013). There are 49 books and articles listed on Google Scholar that use MDAH's suggested citation for individual records of "Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records." Usage is likely higher with some books and articles not indexed by Google Scholar or relying on an alternative citation such as listing the name of the archive and the collection.

As Rowe-Sims points out the Commission records ultimately have had two kinds of impacts: an expanded historical understanding of everyday civil rights activists and the conviction of those responsible for civil rights-era crimes.[752] In regards to the latter, Rowe-Sims recounts how Commission records brought perpetrators to justice both before and after they were opened to the public. Leaked Commission records in 1994 prompted a third retrial and final conviction of Byron De La Beckwith for the murder of Medgar Evers and, in 1998, MDAH "delivered commission documents to the family of Vernon Dahmer, a Hattiesburg businessman and activist who was killed when the Klan firebombed his home in January 1966," which helped convict his murderer, Ku Klux Klan grand wizard Sam Bowers.[753] Given that justice had been so long delayed for the victims of civil rights-era crimes, the Commission records were primarily used for convictions in the years immediately following their release. While the Commission records' potential to facilitate legal justice may have waned over the years, their historical value has only grown as historians and other researchers continue to mine the Commission records for more insights into both their specific historical period and government surveillance in general.[754]

VII. D. "Exceedingly Neutral" and Active Memory

[752] Rowe-Sims, "Balancing Privacy and Access," 172.
[753] Ibid. Rowe-Sims further notes that "commission documents are also being reviewed in connection with the 1964 murders of civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner in Neshoba County and in the February 1967 murder of Wharlest Jackson in Natchez." Ibid.
[754] For recent examples, see: Alan Draper, "Class and Politics in the Mississippi Movement: An Analysis of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Delegation," *Journal of Southern History* 82, no. 2 (May 2016): 269-304, and the previously mentioned Rolph, "The Citizens' Council and Africa," and Wisser and Blanco-Rivera, "Surveillance, Documentation, and Privacy."

While typically cast as a case study of access versus privacy in governmental records, the Commission records also speak to the archive's need to play an active role in determining how state records are preserved and accessed. As a governmental archive, MDAH was entrusted with carrying out a judicial order, which, in Pilcher's words meant that "we [MDAH] basically just did what the judge said to do."[755] Rowe-Sims and her co-authors also allude to how, aside from "saving the records from the funeral pyre," MDAH's role had been limited to legal custodianship of the records.[756] That position changed, however, in the September 1993 hearings on privacy and access issues, wherein MDAH "adamantly insisted […] that the physical and intellectual integrity of the files should be preserved" through electronic imaging.[757] According to Rowe-Sims, MDAH's newfound assertiveness impacted the court by making Judge Barbour, "sympathetic to archival concerns," as shown by his intent to maintain "the original integrity of the files while balancing the competing interests of the various plaintiffs in privacy and disclosure."[758] In the struggle to balance privacy and access, MDAH was itself learning how to navigate its responsibilities as a legal custodian with the imperative to assert its principles. By the time the lengthy court battle ended, MDAH had decided that passivity was no longer a tenable option.[759]

The release and digitization of the Commission records is indicative of MDAH's contemporary role in furthering social justice and facilitating intercommunity dialogue in Mississippi. Though counterintuitive, Young cites neutrality as the primary force behind the Department's social justice interventions:

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[755] Pilcher, interview with author, November 6, 2015.
[756] Rowe-Sims, et. al., "Balancing Privacy and Access," 166.
[757] Ibid., 166-167.
[758] Ibid.
[759] Ibid., 172.

> We are deliberately trying to be exceedingly neutral. We have to be neutral. We collect materials from all citizens, we document all activities, and we try to document all organizations. We have Clan material. We have Citizen's Council material. We have Civil Rights workers materials, and we have to be neutral. But, by being neutral we provide a safe place for conversation and dialogue. And, therefore, that is an activist role in a way.[760]

As the quotation suggests, MDAH defines neutrality as both collecting without intentional bias or exclusions *and* providing a "safe place" for the community to come together uninhibited, if possible, by racial or political divides. In so doing, MDAH does not view activism and neutrality as forking paths but rather as alternative, often complimentary means for improving the community.

Given the problematic political and historical connotations of archives and neutrality, a better descriptor of the work Young describes might be what Aleida Assmann calls "active memory."[761] In her research into cultural memory, Assmann identifies active memory as perpetuating "what a society has consciously selected and maintains as salient and vital for a common orientation and a shared remembering."[762] Manifestations of active memory occur at schools and museums and during holidays and other occasions where the community shares and reflects on its culture and heritage. Assmann contrasts active memory with "archival memory," which stores "information that "has been neglected, forgotten, excluded, or discarded but is still deemed worthy and important enough to be preserved in material form."[763] Eric Ketelaar rightly points out the faultiness of Assmann's division between active and archival memories, given that archives are

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[760] Young, interview with author, November 5, 2015.
[761] See the preceding literature review for a survey of archival writings on neutrality.
[762] Aleida Assmann, "Re-framing Memory: Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past," in *Performing the Past: Memory, History and Identity in Modern Europe,* ed. Karin Tilmans, et. al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 43.
[763] Ibid.

neither static nor uninvolved in the formation and maintenance of a community.[764] Assmann herself clarifies, however, that "the borderline between the archival and the canon's active memory is permeable in both directions."[765] Assmann's observation that the memories collectively valued by a community are fluid and can shift provides a helpful way of identifying MDAH's own transformation from an "Old South" archive to a civil rights hub for the state and nation.

The community driven nature of active memory captures how MDAH views itself as being independent of, as opposed to disconnected from, state politics. Young emphasizes the Department's established independence from the legislature, which has kept it from being "subject to the political whims" of the state's largely conservative, Republican governance.[766] In so doing, MDAH shields the state's historical legacy from the vagaries of politics and the will of powerful state legislators. Of course, as Mississippi has continued to shift into George's "Other Mississippi" of tolerance and equality, MDAH and Mississippi's Legislature have been working towards similar aims. For instance, the Legislature, in the words of former director Elbert Hilliard, "formally acknowledged the State's responsibility for the preservation of its documentary heritage" by funding the William F. Winter Archives and History Building that opened in 2003 and, in 2018, the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum.[767] The Department's evolution, thereby, both reflects and further facilitates Mississippi's ongoing effort to move away from a "closed society" to one that values equal rights and opportunities for its citizens.

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[764] Eric Ketelaar, "Records Out and Archives In: Early Modern Cities as Creators of Records and as Communities of Archives," *Archival Science* 10: 202-203.
[765] Assmann, "Re-framing Memory," 44.
[766] Young, interview with author, November 5, 2015.
[767] Hilliard, "The Mississippi Department of Archives and History," 7.

Like the schools and museums that Assmann points to as institutions of "active memory," MDAH reflects and shapes its community. Whereas—as Rowe-Sims and her co-authors argue—MDAH initially acted as a "mere keeper of records" in response to the Commission records court proceedings, it began to change in 1990 when the board of trustees acted contrary to the wishes of the governor and attorney general by advocating privacy screenings for Commission records.[768] MDAH has since shown itself to be a dynamic and active institution, willing to assert itself and challenge legislative decisions related to how the state reckons with its history. The "exceedingly neutral" institution that Young describes does not cling to the illusion of an apolitical archive, but rather, in the words of Rowe-Simms and her MDAH colleagues, affirms that "[a]rchivists do not exist in a vacuum, but must respond appropriately to the social, cultural, and political environment in which they live and work."[769] They are stewards of memory in regular interplay with their community, working to provide a "neutral" or equally representative and welcoming institution for all of its citizens.

MDAH's overall approach to history has helped foster dialogue between Mississippians about their history, governance, and other vital issues. Public forums, events, and the weekly "History is Lunch" series are all opportunities for the public to gather at the archive and openly discuss the sometimes raw and unresolved history of their state. As Young observes when describing the "History is Lunch" series,

> you frequently have mixed audiences that come and hear an author talk about difficult stories, and so it's a neutral ground where people feel comfortable asking questions and having a discussion in a mixed group, and I know this seems simplistic to people but for this to be happening in Mississippi is really important.[770]

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[768] Rowe-Simms, Boyd, and Holmes, "Balancing Privacy and Access," 172
[769] Ibid., 173-174.
[770] Ibid.

Along with creating a space to discuss the past, MDAH provides venues for citizens to air their opinions of the current legislature. Young recalls a recent public viewing of a collaborative MDAH/University of Mississippi documentary, wherein viewers voiced their criticisms of the current governor, legislature, and Republican Party.[771] Such instances are indicative of how people from various viewpoints and backgrounds can comfortably discuss important issues about the past and present at MDAH.[772]

Moreover, MDAH's work transcends the physical space of the archive and has implications for those outside of the state. Its digitization of the Commission files, in particular, shows how MDAH has prioritized making important civil rights materials universally accessible. Following the 2001 conclusion of the privacy and disclosure process of the Commission record release, MDAH pivoted to the "long-term requirements of preservation and access."[773] The Commission records provided the first opportunity for the Electronic Records division to try a constant migration approach to records preservation. Also, with the requirements of the court order now fulfilled, MDAH could act on its own priorities. One such priority was providing "universal, worldwide access to the Sovereignty Commission images, which meant making them available through the World Wide Web."[774] Commission photographs, for instance, had been difficult to access since the court order had required indexing by personal names. MDAH was able to provide better access by creating a way for photographs to be searched and indexed individually while still linking back to the main folder. Also, they were able to rescan

[771] Ibid.
[772] Ibid.
[773] Anna Schwind, Sarah Rowe-Sims, and David Pilcher, "The Conversion of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission Records," *The Primary Source* 24, no. 2 (2002): 8.
[774] Ibid.

images at a higher resolution, which helped facilitate their subsequent re-use. Reflecting on the improved scans, Pilcher notes, "that's been a great thing because you have probably seen those mug shots of the freedom riders. If you've seen the book, *Breach of Peace*, there have been exhibits in Memphis and Birmingham and other places that have acquired the higher resolution scans of those, and it made all that possible."[775]

VII. E. Furthering Racial Reconciliation

Entrusted with two oppositional types of collections—one representative of Mississippi's past transgressions and the other an exemplar of courage and forward progress—MDAH provides a space for Mississippians to learn various viewpoints on their history and act on the clear lessons of the past. Governor Winter has long argued that citizens must have access to their history in order to move forward as a society, and MDAH's purposeful move away from a Lost Cause version of history to one that acknowledges injustices and celebrates civil rights is indicative of that ethos. At the dedication of the William F. Winters Archives and History Building in 2003, he made the following observation:

> History must reflect our bad times as well as our good ones, our mistakes as well as our successes, our defeats as well as our victories. It is only through a clear and honest look at our past that we are able to find the basis now and in the future to make wise judgments that will keep us from repeating the mistakes of that past. We must in short learn to be instructed by history but not imprisoned by it.[776]

MDAH has been the chief facilitator in Mississippi's "instruct[ion] by history" through preserving and digitizing the Commission records, building a world-class civil rights

[775] Pilcher, interview with author, November 6, 2015.
[776] Qtd. in Hilliard, "The Mississippi Department of Archives and History," 7.

collection, developing primary education materials, and, most importantly, providing a trusted repository for the state's historical materials. In so doing, it aids the larger statewide project of furthering racial reconciliation.

Although there is much truth to Galloway's observation that the "history of archival behavior" in the state "more or less mirrors the dominant political climate of the day for individual periods," MDAH has often outpaced the rest of the state in terms of racial progressiveness.[777] The agency had the first permanent civil rights exhibit in a museum and a modern legacy of appointing African Americans to its Board of Trustees—from Dr. Gilbert Mason who led the Biloxi wade-in movement in the 1960s to Rueben Anderson who was "the first African American at the University of Mississippi law school and the first African American on the state supreme court."[778] Young notes that there was a "very clear pattern and effort" to be inclusive, which, to her, is indicative of an effort by figures such as Governor Winter and former director Hank Holmes to do "what they knew was right and what they believed in their heart and even if they couldn't change the system around them, they could do what they could do at this agency to make it unbiased and make it reflect all of Mississippi's history."[779]

By nurturing a reputation for fairness and equality over the last few decades, key figures such as Governor Winter and MDAH Director Hilbert have made it possible for African Americans to place their trust in the state archive. Governor Winter, for instance, was instrumental in Myrlie Evers's decision to donate the papers of her husband, Medgar Evers, to MDAH.[780] According to MDAH's Amanda Lyons, the 2002 donation of what

[777] Galloway, "Mississippi Electronic Records Initiative," 28.
[778] Ibid.
[779] Ibid.
[780] Lyons, "Giving Shape and Substance to Our Society," 129.

would become the Medgar and Myrlie Evers Papers remains the core of MDAH's civil rights collection.[781] The now digitized collection consists of thirty-two boxes of materials related to the Evers and Beasley family dating from 1900 to 1964.[782] Myrlie Evers's decision to donate the collection to MDAH made a " 'strong and public statement'—the widow of a slain civil rights leader entrusted her papers to the state of Mississippi."[783] As the archival extension of the state government, MDAH has journeyed from indirect complicity in the Sovereignty Commission to being entrusted with the historical legacy of a key civil rights icon. In some respects, the fact that both are now housed at MDAH is a testament to both the archive's ability to handle material fraught with political and ethical complexities and the progress made in the last two decades towards rebuilding African American trust in their state government.

Racial reconciliation in Mississippi has been aided both by large-scale efforts, such as the Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation and small-scale community outreach, programming, and events at MDAH. Most of Mississippi's citizens and institutions were complicit to varying degrees in the "closed society," and, as George notes, "reconciliation requires accepting that complicity rests not only in the doing of violent deeds, but also knowing of them and remaining silent."[784] The Winter Institute and MDAH have countered the legacy of silence by fostering cross-community communication. In fact, the Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation originated in a "free and open discussion of race" at the University of Mississippi, which showed the need for a permanent institute

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[781] Ibid., 130.
[782] For more information about the papers and a collection description, see: "Medgar and Myrlie Evers Papers," *Mississippi Department of Archives and History*, accessed July 29, 2007, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/new/research/collections/medgar-and-myrlie-evers-papers/
[783] Ibid.
[784] George, *One Mississippi, Two Mississippi*, 161.

devoted to "reconciling racial differences" across the South.[785] Winter notes that the institute's work "has demonstrated how the opening of communication between people of different races reveals how much we have in common."[786] Alongside the opening of new interracial channels of communication, the Winter Institute works to stamp out hate speech by "creating a point of view that places racial prejudice and racist speech and acts outside the bounds of acceptable behavior."[787] Fostering dialogue and open communication about race in the South provides the lynchpin by which reconciliation and progress happens at the community level.

MDAH's events and programs reflect the Department's awareness of communication as a core element of racial reconciliation. Conferences and commemorations of important civil rights events have provided opportunities for MDAH to bring the community together to discuss the state's race relations in the past and present. MDAH and the Mississippi Humanities Council, for instance, partnered with other organizations and communities to feature local civil rights veterans in programs entitled "Freedom Summer and Beyond."[788] The successful partnerships ultimately would draw more than 325 people over the five programs.[789] Other instances of MDAH bringing Mississippians together through history include commemorations of Medgar Evers and the Freedom Riders. In regards to the latter, MDAH provided one of the sites for a week of commemorative activities for the fiftieth anniversary of the Freedom Riders journey. Along with hosting an exhibit and taking part in the Freedom Riders Digital Collaborative

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785 Winter, "Opening Doors in a Closed Society," 11.
786 Ibid.
787 Qtd. in Charles C. Bolton, *William F. Winter and the New Mississippi: A Biography* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2013), 261.
788 "Local Civil Rights Veterans Featured in Series," *Mississippi History Newsletter* 56 no. 4 (Winter 2014): 6.
789 Ibid.

to scan and preserve the materials of Freedom Riders, MDAH also "invited the public to share their experiences of the Freedom Rides and the civil rights era" through a program called "Speak Now Memories of the Civil Rights Era."[790] Participant recordings are now available online in MDAH's digital archives, thus ensuring that reminiscences by those active during the civil rights era will continue to inform future conversations on race.

Education provides another measure of how MDAH attempts to further racial reconciliation in Mississippi. MDAH has developed lesson plans and teaching units for primary and secondary school teachers based on the Mississippi Department of Education Frameworks and the Common Core Curriculum. While other lessons draw on various civil rights artifacts within MDAH's collections, the teaching unit for Civil Rights in Mississippi (Grades 9-12) deals specifically with the Commission records. The activity begins by drawing parallels between the Sovereignty Commission records and present-day surveillance by asking students to research post-9/11 instances of government invasions of privacy. It then proceeds by having students divide into groups to research various civil rights figures in both the Commission files online and in other web resources. The activity concludes with a section entitled "The Sovereignty Commission and You," which, once again encourages students to draw connections between the past and present by searching Commission files for relatives. Students are then asked to discuss "their feelings about having their ancestors spied on."[791] Lessons such as these encourage students to draw connections between past injustices and their present-lives, as well as

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[790] "Thousands Attend Freedom 50th Celebrations," *Mississippi History Newsletter* 53, no. 2 (Summer 2011). For information on MDAH's role in the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of Medgar Evers's death, see: "Life of Medgar Evers Commemorated," *Mississippi History Newsletter* 55, no. 1 (Spring 2013).

[791] "Lesson Two Mississippi Civil Rights Timeline," Mississippi Department of Archives and History, accessed July 25, 2017, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/new/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Lesson-Two-Civil-Rights-Timeline.pdf

creates an opportunity for students to talk about race—all important lessons to instill in the next generation of Mississippians.

VII. F. Summary

Whether it is George's "second Mississippi" or what Winter describes as "opening doors in a closed society," state and independent actors have worked to improve race relations over the last few decades. MDAH has aided the struggle against Mississippi's racist past by exposing the records of state oppression and recovering the voices of its African American population and their movement for civil rights; or, in Assmann and Linda Shortt's words, shifting the state's historical memory "*from silence* to *speaking out*, from a repressed or forgotten, to a recovered and socially circulated and shared memory."[792] As Winter reminds us, however, inequality persists with a need "to break down the suspicion and hostility that seem to accompany human differences, whether of race, color and religion, nationality, language, politics, or culture."[793] MDAH acknowledges its own need to address a range of human justice issues beyond civil rights by expanding its collection to focus on underrepresented groups such as the LGBT community, immigrants, and women in Mississippi.[794] Future documentation of these groups will be aided by the same engaged, transparent, and communicative approach it has used to build its civil rights collection. Overall, MDAH's progressive leadership by Elbert Hilliard, Hank Holmes,

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[792] Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt, introduction to *Memory and Political Change*, eds. Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2011), 8.
[793] Winter, "Opening Doors," 9.
[794] Young, interview with author, November 5, 2015.

Governor Winter and others has both steered the archive towards documenting the state's African American and civil rights experience and promoted racial reconciliation through programming and education.

If, in Young's words, "we [MDAH] are history," then the nearly completed Mississippi Civil Rights Museum concretizes Mississippi's new beginning. As the first state sponsored civil rights museum, it opened concurrently with the Museum of Mississippi History in December 2017. While the Museum of Mississippi History mostly features MDAH's artifacts, the Civil Rights Museum predominantly relies on documents, with more than eight hundred documents and images from the archive being exhibited.[795] Along with contributing materials to the museum, archival staff also helped develop the museum. Young reports that both the heads of Image and Sound and Reference Services were on the museum committee, with the latter vetting every item and story featured in the museum.[796] Young goes on to note that because the archive has more African Americans than any other division, a further three were selected for the design committee. Furthermore, archival staff continues to provide support through such tasks as consulting with exhibit fabricators about the provenance of certain items and finalizing copyright clearance on documents.[797]

State-support for the museum is indicative of the legislature's present willingness both to acknowledge the state's history of systemic racism and to celebrate the civil rights movement that struggled against it. In 2011 during his final State of the State address, Governor Haley Barbour voiced his support for the museum "as an appropriate way to do justice to the civil rights movement and to stand as a monument of remembrance and

[795] Ibid.
[796] Ibid.
[797] Ibid.

reconciliation."[798] Four years later as the Museum moved closer to construction, Winter called the Civil Rights Museum "the most significant building project in my lifetime in Mississippi."[799] Realizing the need for public input and support, MDAH held community meetings about the Museum in various towns around the state in order "to gather suggestions for the museum and stories of local people involved in the civil rights movement."[800] Members of the general public as well as a coalition of powerful supporters—"four governors, legislators from across the political spectrum, civil rights veterans, business leaders, educators, Native American nations"—worked to make the museum a reality. In so doing, they created not just a symbol of Mississippi's progress but also a means for grappling with its ignoble past.

Though MDAH is a government archive predicated on serving a wide range of citizens, key elements of its approach to collecting and social justice align with the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. It was no coincidence that Winter carried a copy of the Birmingham Pledge with him as a reminder of the principles necessary to combat racism.[801] For both MDAH and the BCRI, the pledge's message of racial tolerance and progress has been foundational to the leadership and operation of both institutions over the last few decades. Furthermore, both institutions view education as a core component of their work. Whereas BCRI views itself primarily as an educational facility, MDAH sees

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[798] Qtd. in Lyons, "Giving Shape and Substance," 133.
[799] Qtd. in C. Todd Sherman, "History, Civil Rights Museums Taking Shape," *The Clarion-Ledger* (Jackson, MS) June 11, 2015.
[800] "Museum Designs Developed," *Mississippi History Newsletter* 54, no. 2 (Mid summer 2012): 1-2.
[801] The six tenants of the Birmingham Pledge are as follows: "I believe that every person has worth as an individual. I believe that every person is entitled to dignity and respect, regardless of race or color. I believe that every thought and every act of racial prejudice is harmful; if it is my thought or act, then it is harmful to me as well as to others. Therefore, from this day forward I will strive daily to eliminate racial prejudice from my thoughts and actions. I will discourage racial prejudice by others at every opportunity. I will treat all people with dignity and respect; and I will strive daily to honor this pledge, knowing that the world will be a better place because of my effort." Qtd. in Bolton, *William F. Winter and the New Mississippi*, 261.

education as a critical part of its overall work as the state archive. Its commitment to secondary education is shown by its development of the previously mentioned resources and lesson plans, while its contributions to informal public education are seen in any number of public exhibitions, lectures, and activities. Education also undoubtedly drives MDAH's future plans, with Winter referring to the new Museum of Mississippi History and the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum as "the largest classrooms in the state." Without understanding history in all of "its messiness," Young notes, Mississippians can't "move forward together."[802]

MDAH's hard-won transition from a tool of the "closed society" to a leader in "speaking out," has positioned it to play a pivotal role in Mississippi's efforts to right the injustices of the past and present. MDAH has been effective first and foremost because it is active and socially minded in a similar sense to the "engaged neutrality" of Belfast's Linen Hall Library. For both institutions, the version of neutrality they prioritize is not the evasion of present-day conflicts but rather a productive means to address the contested historical legacies upon which divisions are rooted and reinforced. MDAH's allocation of a large grant from the Kellogg Foundation, for instance, shows its ongoing commitment to social justice and racial reconciliation. The money bolsters the opening of the civil rights museum by supporting civil rights education and programming in conjunction with the Winter Racial Reconciliation Institute and the Myrlie and Medgar Evers Institute. Deliverables have included the digitization of the Evers Collection, the launch of the Evers Scholars Program, and a teacher workshop with the Winter Institute concerning

[802] Young, interview with author, November 5, 2015.

racial reconciliation and the use of archival documents to develop lesson plans.[803] Although, as George reminds us, barriers remain for "meaningful progress toward reconciliation in Mississippi," MDAH continues to be a driving force for positive change in the state[804]

[803] Ibid. The 2017 winner of the Evers Scholarship is a Cornell doctoral student who "will explore the relationship between the politics of food, race, and activism" using MDAH's holdings. "Bobby J. Smith II Named 2017 Evers Scholar," MDAH, accessed June 26, 2017, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/new/news/bobby-j-smith-ii-named-2017-evers-scholar/ .
[804] George, *One Mississippi, Two Mississippi*, 229.

VIII. Conclusion

When the Museum of Free Derry's new facility opened in 2017, it featured a new front wall and entryway. The previous building's wall had shown an image in support of Palestine alongside a giant reimagining of Picasso's *Guernica*. The images spoke to the Museum's ongoing solidarity with others suffering from injustices around the globe. Visitors to the new museum now encounter a singular, powerful art installation by Derry artist, Locky Morris: Steel panels etched with the digital pattern of the waveform of "We Shall Overcome"—the Negro spiritual that became the civil rights anthem of Derry. The art piece, itself entitled "We Shall Overcome," not only captures the moments that, in Morris's words, created a "seismic shift in the whole history of this city" but also makes visible its connection to the American civil rights movement.[805] Kerr points out the significance of both the installation at the Museum of Free Derry and its proposed parallel artwork at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute: "To have that connected artwork at another civil-rights museum, in the States…Well, the symbolism of that would be absolutely fantastic."[806] For the Museum of Free Derry and the BCRI, "We Shall Overcome" both celebrates their interconnected roots and, more importantly, affirms their shared commitment to ongoing human and civil rights issues around the world.

Figure. 1. Museum of Free Derry

[805] Qtd. in Freya McClements, "Derry and 'We Shall Overcome': We Plagiarized an Entire Movement," *The Irish Times,* March 4, 2017, accessed September 7, 2017, https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/art-and-design/derry-and-we-shall-overcome-we-plagiarised-an-entire-movement-1.2989759 .

[806] Ibid.

Figure. 1. Museum of Free Derry

VIII. A. Reflection on Civil Rights Archives and Social Justice

Approaches to archiving civil rights materials in Northern Ireland and the American South have intersected and diverged in multiple ways. While the planned joint art installations at the Museum of Free Derry and the BCRI provide a tangible symbol of the interconnected histories and missions of those two institutions, other civil rights archives intersect in alternative ways. The Linen Hall Library and the BCRI, for instance, are both hubs of activity and learning for their communities. Various educational programs and events draw on civil rights objects and other archival materials to present exhibits that either implicitly or explicitly link the past to the present. The Library's "Troubled Images" and the BCRI's "A Voteless People is a Hopeless People" provide representative examples of how the institutions employ archival materials to promote awareness of both past injustices and those who stood against them. Moreover, the two archives devoted solely to civil rights, the BCRI and the Museum of Free Derry, share multiple commonalities in

their mandate, mission, and approach. Both institutions were created in response to historical injustices and unapologetically make connections between present and past political situations. In this respect, the archives studied appear less to be defined by their national or cultural contexts than issues of mission, mandate, and concerns unique to their local community.

The national legacies of the movements themselves, however, have created identifiable differences in how civil rights archives operate and are supported in the two countries. The public support and governmental funding for MDAH's new Mississippi Civil Rights Museum, for instance, is indicative of the esteem with which most Americans hold the national civil rights movement. While many of the tensions and systemic issues at the forefront of the US civil rights movement remain, the basic facts of what occurred have by in large been resolved and generally accepted. Whereas American civil rights archives document a movement with a broad historical consensus of its events and legacy, the Museum of Free Derry's work has been predicated on correcting the historical record.

> We have very diverse perceptions of history in the North and that has been a cause of division for a long, long time. And that's talking in the sort of broader general sense over and above or alongside, beyond the legacy issues that still have to be resolved with the conflict in terms of victim's issues and stuff. So the museum—one of its really important roles is as an example of how we can deal with that sort of a past.[807]

The country's complicated and contentious political history has resulted in the Museum both countering the official record and putting forth the message of its community in a productive fashion.

Regardless of national differences, each research site self identifies in a different way based on their unique missions and mandates. The dissertation's broad scope of

[807] Kerr, interview with author, March 22, 2017.

research sites encompasses an institute, a library, an archive, and a museum. While I loosely categorize each of these as a different type of archive, there are fundamental differences between them. The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, for instance, self identifies as "a cultural and educational research center" that exists to educate the public about civil rights in Birmingham.[808] According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the name "institute" is "often popularly applied to the building appropriated to the work of a benevolent or educational institution." By calling itself an institute, the BCRI underscores its educational work as a force for positive change in the city. By way of comparison, the Museum of Free Derry shares a similar mission to the BCRI but self identifies as a museum. In so doing, the Museum places an emphasis on remembrance and the legitimacy of its community's history. On a more practical level, it also helps advertise to visitors that the main feature of the facility, at least at present, is the main exhibit area of historical objects.

Other identifiers, such as "library" and "archive," also reflect the mission and purpose of research sites. As a space, the Linen Hall Library encompasses much more than the sum of its holdings. Its archival collections are only a part of what the Library has offered its community over its long history. The term "library" in this context suggests a bringing together of people in search of knowledge—a continuing mission in the spirit of its older iterations as the "Belfast Reading Society" and the "Belfast Society for Promoting Knowledge." The Mississippi Department of Archives and History, by comparison, exists to connect all Mississippians to their history through archival materials. As an archive in a governmental department with three other divisions, MDAH's role is

[808] "About BCRI," Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, accessed December 5, 2017, https://www.bcri.org/about-bcri/,

clearly defined as collecting, preserving, and providing access to the state's wealth of historical resources. In the case of these two institutions, "library" signifies a bringing together of readers to share knowledge and "archive" refers to the active management of the materials of Mississippi's past and present. While much overlap exists between these and other libraries and archives, the terminology provides insight into institutional and community priorities.

Though working under different institutional titles and organizational structures, every research site I studied facilitates social justice in some fashion. In fact, a major finding of my study is that civil rights archives in Northern Ireland and the American South draw on a variety of approaches to intervene in contemporary social justice issues. The range of archival responses to civil rights materials indicates a continuum of approaches to social justice generally. As shown below, each archive studied falls arguably within the poles of neutrality and activism. Neutrality is a term used by certain research sites and interviewees that capture the attempt to balance and apolitically message their work. I have tried in each chapter to differentiate it from the traditional conception of neutrality, which ignores the political implications of archival work. All archives studied either implicitly or explicitly acknowledge the political dimensions of their work through exhibits and programming, as well as actively make their materials available to social justice actors.

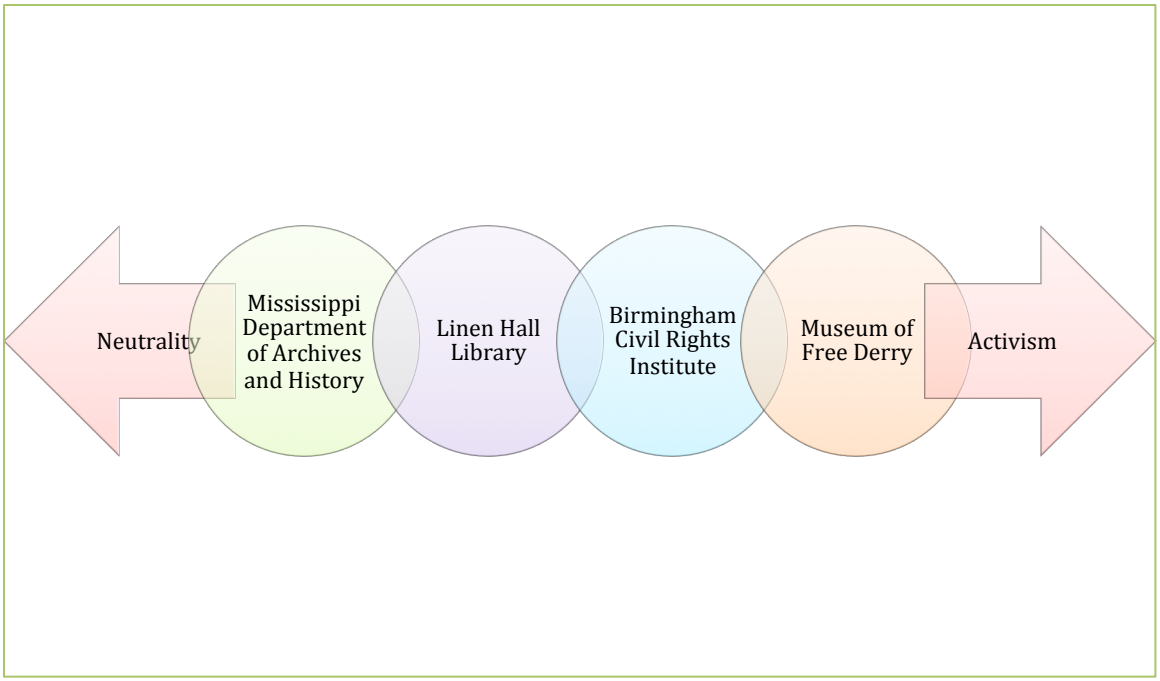

Figure 2. Continuum of Archival Approaches to Social Justice

Archives that fall closer to the continuum's activism pole are tempered by elements of neutrality and vice versa. Each archive shares an ethos of education and community building, with commonalities between archival approaches being more pronounced than their differences. Activism, in fact, is often indistinguishable from the type of advocacy practiced in institutions typically associated with neutrality. All the archives I studied practiced some type of advocacy, wherein acts of social justice were more often subtle expressions of support for positive change generally than ardent campaigning for a specific issue. The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, for instance, advocates for a range of social justice causes but avoids outright activism in the interest of maintaining its non-partisan, educational role in the city. In the highly politicized Deep South, the BCRI pragmatically addresses social issues in a way that does not leave it vulnerable to unfair

criticisms and mischaracterizations of its mission and work. The roots of the Museum of Free Derry, by comparison, are firmly fixed in activist causes, which enables them to continue as an overtly activist force for positive change. Like neutrality, the activism pole is multifaceted and able to accommodate various shades of activism, advocacy, and other forms of social action.

As the continuum's overlapping circles suggest, a rigid dichotomy between archival activism and neutrality is counterproductive. Even MDAH and the Museum of Free Derry—which fall closest to pure neutrality and activism, respectively—have elements of its oppositional approach. MDAH fosters social justice by creating a space from which activists can draw, as well as advocates for civil and human rights to the degree permitted by its governmental mandate. It also partners with activist institutions such as the Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation, which can more explicitly advocate for social justice causes. Along similar lines, the archive most closely associated with activism, the Museum of Free Derry, also shares some commonalities with archives closer to the neutrality pole. More specifically, the Museum's activism falls within a larger peace-building project, wherein the creation of a better Derry, Northern Ireland, and world in general is paramount. Its cross-community work and commitment to peace and progress has been shown in multiple respects: the tireless Bloody Sunday campaign to help the community heal and move forward, its educational initiative with the Siege Museum of the Apprentice Boys of Derry, and its ongoing domestic and international human rights work.

The archives I studied have worked to further social justice in a variety of ways. Interventions have encompassed both local and global human rights issues, ranging from

indirect involvement to purposeful engagement. BCRI, for instance, has had an immeasurable impact through its educational approach to the civil rights movement, wherein it has taught countless children about the city's civil rights history through school visits, local programming, and other forms of outreach. In terms of specific interventions, the BCRI has hosted and/or helped facilitate two web-based platforms for social justice: *The Struggle Continues* blog and *Kids in Birmingham 1963*. The former is a space for staff to share connections between past and present civil and human rights issues, while the latter records and shares the stories of the "passive" and often overlooked participants to the movement. The Linen Hall Library's *Troubled Images* exhibit and the "Divided Society" project provide other examples of specific archival interventions. Through its approach of "engaged neutrality," these ventures draw on the Library's vast collection of political posters from all sides of the conflict in order to help preserve and communicate the lessons of the Troubles. The table below provides examples of other archival interventions and their specific social justice aims.

Table 2. Archival Social Justice Interventions

Institution	Specific Interventions	Aims
Birmingham Civil Rights Institute	1. Struggle Continues blog 2. Kids in Birmingham 1963	1. "Helping visitors understand the past's relationship to the present" 2. Record & share "passive participants" to movement
Mississippi Department of Archives and History	1. Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Records 2. Mississippi Civil Rights Museum	1. Comply with judge's order, protecting privacy and providing public access 2. Promote "a greater understanding of the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and its impact."

Linen Hall Library	1. Troubled Images Exhibit 2. "Divided Society" Project	1. Telling the story of the Troubles through political posters 2. Digitizing over 6,000 political posters
Museum of Free Derry	1. Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign 2. Kids Kollections	1. Undo the Widgery Report and tell the true story of Bloody Sunday 2. Bring children together from loyalist and republican communities for projects

In terms of the practical applications of this analysis, my research provides a range of archival social justice approaches from which others might draw. Archival missions and mandates vary widely, and each archivist must decide the most appropriate and ethical way to incorporate social justice into his or her own work. Codes of ethics, colleagues, and theoretical models help archivists reconcile their professional responsibilities with civic and moral obligations. As this research shows, social justice can be accomplished in a variety of ways depending on the archive's purpose and resources. The spectrum of approaches to civil rights—and by extension social justice generally—on display in this dissertation reveals how archives of varying national and institutional contexts can contribute to social justice. Furthermore, my research also shines light on the middle ground of socially conscious engagement, which is sometimes forgotten between the extreme poles of striving for apolitical balance or neutrality and fully employing the archive for committed activism.

VIII. B. Interconnections

As the continuum shows, approaches to civil rights collections often overlap, even at institutions with differing mandates and missions. In fact, the continuum could be broken down further to examine the various elements that inform each archive's overall approach. While useful, the poles of neutrality and activism do not fully convey how research sites approach different facets of their work. How, for instance, does the Linen Hall Library's "engaged neutrality" feature in its educational work? And are some archives more activist-oriented in digital rather than physical spaces? Answering such questions would likely reposition archives along the social justice continuum, with their placement depending on the particular issue being addressed. While analyzing each archive's approach to social justice, I noted three threads that ran through every archive in the study: education, digital spaces, and reconciliation. Examining these themes in greater detail clarifies how and why archives in Northern Ireland and the American South intersect and diverge when addressing social justice issues.

Civil rights archives on both sides of the Atlantic prioritize education and incorporate it into their overall approaches to civil rights materials. MDAH, for instance, developed lesson plans that incorporated their civil rights collections while the BCRI and Museum of Free Derry host many students and school groups throughout the year. BCRI explicitly focuses on education with one illustrative example being its legacy youth leadership project, which teaches high school students to "look at leadership through the eyes of the movement" and "trains them to know the material upstairs and they become

docents."[809] Though education is perhaps less emphasized at the Linen Hall Library, it hosts school groups visiting its NIPC and is looking to further its education potential by hiring an Educational Outreach Officer "to engage with the community; to let them know what's in the Political Collection; to let them have a say what we should be putting in the exhibitions and what we should be concentrating on with the digitization."[810]

Each archive conceives of education's role within their institution in different terms. As previously mentioned, the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute views education as a core part of the its mission and mandate. From inception to the present day, BCRI works, in the words of current President and CEO Andrea Taylor, to "enlighten each generation about civil and human rights."[811] Lawrence Pijeaux, BCRI head from 1995 to 2014, reflects on how he interpreted BCRI's mission as a fundamentally educational endeavor: "I truly believe that we all want to provide greater access to our collections to educate better the people we serve: it is an ethic embedded in our mission. To some degree or another, the mission of libraries, archives, and museums all involved the fostering of educational experiences through access to information."[812] While not explicitly mentioning education, the Linen Hall Library's mission statement also shares a similar aim "to increase knowledge and understanding."[813] The recent hiring of the Educational Outreach Officer is indicative of the institution's commitment to turning that abstract aim into concrete educational deliverables.

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[809] Ward, interview with author, November 2, 2015.
[810] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
[811] Andrea L. Taylor, "A Teachable Moment," October 20, 2017, https://www.bcri.org/a-teachable-moment-by-andrea-l-taylor-president-and-ceo-of-bcri/
[812] Lawrence J. Pijeaux, Jr. "The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute: A Case Study in library, Archives, and Museum Collaboration," *RBM* 8, no.1 (Spring 2007): 56.
[813] The Linen Hall Library, *2016 Annual Report*, 3.

Archives also vary in terms of how they translate their educational philosophies into actual projects. In at least two incidences, archival initiatives were designed to correspond to school standards. Both MDAH and the Linen Hall Library have created educational materials based on the general curriculum for students in their respective state and nation. As previously mentioned, MDAH offers lesson plans and teaching units for teachers of grades 4-12 to draw on. The materials are based on state education frameworks and the Common Core Curriculum—a standard used in many US states to ensure students are adequately trained in English language arts/literacy and mathematics to pursue a college education or enter the workforce. Along with lesson plans and film activity packets, MDAH also offers online teaching units such as, "Civil Rights in Mississippi." In this instance, the unit explicitly shows connections between itself and "Mississippi Social Studies" and "Common Core Language Arts."[814] In the unit subsection entitled "Protesting Violence without Violence," the lesson plans meets nineteen common core standards for grades 9-10, including RH: Reading in History/Social Studies and SL: Speaking and Listening.

Formal educational standards also factored into the design of the Linen Hall Library's educational resource*, Troubled Images—The Northern Ireland Troubles and Peace Process 1968-2016*. The iBook, created in conjunction with Derry's Nerve Centre, targets key stage 3 pupils. In Northern Ireland, key stage 3 applies to students aged 11-14 and is based on curriculum objectives that aim to develop students in three ways: "as an individual," "as a contributor to society," and as "a contributor to the economy &

[814] "Civil Rights in Mississippi," accessed December 12, 2017, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/new/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Curricular-Connections.pdf

environment."[815] The interactive resource addresses the first two objectives particularly well by drawing on political posters, questions, and activities to promote "a greater understanding of our shared history."[816] Though the iBook shows an attention to educational standards and the practical needs of Northern Irish students, it also encapsulates the Library's own approach of "engaged neutrality." Julie Andrews, the Library's director, announced the iBook to be a "resource for younger people to help understand our past from a nonbiased viewpoint,"—a sentiment very much in keeping with the Library's mission, mandate, and approach to social justice.[817]

Digital spaces provide a second point of interconnection between research sites. Naturally, each archive's approach to social justice is not limited to physical surroundings and analogue materials. Blogs, digitization projects, online community projects, and even websites provide critical avenues for reaching users. Each archive studied has some type of digital presence, which often serves to extend and amplify its work. It provides a means for furthering interactions with existing patrons and an opportunity to reach potential new users. At other times, however, digital outputs serve as alternative platforms for archives to experiment with more direct outreach and overtly political stances. In these instances, it frees institutional staff from the constraints of official messaging and allows for more straightforward communication between archivists and their users. Some archives engage in both forms of online and/or digital outputs—formal,

[815] "Overview of the Key Stage 3 Curriculum," accessed December 16, 2017, http://ccea.org.uk/curriculum/key_stage_3/overview.
[816] "Political Posters Become a Digital Resource for the Post-Conflict Generation," accessed December 16, 2017, http://www.culturenorthernireland.org/features/heritage/political-posters-become-digital-resource-post-conflict-generation.
[817] "Linen Hall's Powerful Political Posters Now Accessible as Free Educational iBook," accessed December 16, 2017, https://www.linenhall.com/news/214.

on-message with the entire institution and informal, wherein individual staff broadcast events and opinions.

The Museum of Free Derry's revamped website provides an example of the importance of an official online presence. The new website serves as an extension of the Museum's updated facility in that it offers a fresh and more sophisticated presentation of the archive's work and resources. The original website had become dated and offered little in terms of content beyond the important textual histories of Free Derry, Bloody Sunday, and related events. The updated version makes better use of gallery images and features more information on the Museum's educational and social justice activities. Along with being more visually appealing, professional, and easier to navigate, the new website displays both the Museum's Twitter feed and an interactive Google map of its location. It also offers digital versions of booklets and other publications for users to download. By offering a more multifaceted and welcoming interface, the website moves beyond being simply informative to provide a representative look inside the Museum for potential visitors and others interested in its history and ongoing mission.

Blogs, on the other hand, have created spaces for informal takes on the archive's mission and work. MDAH's *A Sense of Place* blog, for instance, provides an alternative way to "explore historic documents, photographs, artifacts, and sites that tell the story of our state."[818] By focusing on specific objects and stories from within MDAH's collections, the blog is both informative and conversational—providing another avenue for MDAH to share its state's history. While the BCRI's *The Struggle Continues* blog is also informal and informative, its take on history is much more subjective and often untethered from specific historical objects within the museum and archive. The blog provides a

[818] "A Sense of Place: About," accessed January 3, 2018.

forum for staff and guest contributors to make connections between present social justice issues and their historical antecedents. It also allows its authors to discuss and express personal opinions about a variety of topics related to civil and human rights. Topics range from racist Halloween costumes to Sickle Cell Anemia to the rise of Donald Trump. A June 22, 2016 post, for instance, ends by explicitly calling on readers to recognize the country's "history of racial injustice" and "reject Trump."[819] A 2014 Ahmad Ward post in the wake of the shooting of an unarmed black man in Ferguson, Missouri, recounts the "programming" of himself and other Black men to avoid police violence. [820]

While *The Struggle Continues* blog allows for contributors to express their own opinions on topics directly or indirectly related to the archive's work, it misses an opportunity to foster online conversations between staff and users. As previously mentioned, most if not all comments on blog posts appear to be generated by spambots, which leaves no clue as to actual readership. By comparison, MDAH's *A Sense of Place* garners more comments from readers who often share their thoughts on and appreciation for various posts. Along with providing an opportunity for feedback and affirmation, comments also provide a means for readers to alert MDAH to errors and inaccuracies. In, for instance, a September 9, 2015 post looking back on the Historic Preservation Division's work on historical homes damaged by Hurricane Katrina, Jeff comments "[v]ery informative post. One minor correction, I believe the first image is of 1012 W. Beach Biloxi, rather than Beauvoir."[821] The blog administrator responds to his comment

[819] Josh Cannon, "From Talk Radio to Trump" *The Struggle Continues* (blog), June 22, 2016 (12:46 p.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org.
[820] Ahmad Ward, "The Programming," *The Struggle Continues* (blog), August 18, 2014 (7:50 a.m.), http://strugglecontinues.org/?page=3
[821] Jeff, September 15, 2015 (6:53 am), comment on Timothy, "Time and Tide: Documenting Disaster," *A Sense of Place* (blog), September 9, 2015,

by thanking him and noting the correction of the image identification. This example of a reader response and corresponding administrator action highlights the potential of blogs to aid in both communicating and refining the historical record.

Other institutional digital spaces are more focused and bounded by the parameters of a specific project. Though dissimilar in some respects, online community projects like Kids in Birmingham 1963 and digitization projects such as the Linen Hall Library's 'Divided Society' and MDAH's release of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission records are first and foremost information resources. These digital outputs offer unique and invaluable insight into topics foundational to each archive's mission. Not only are these projects sometimes releasing previously unseen records, the experiences are curated in ways that provide context for the people, events, and implications of the collections. "Divided Society", for instance, couples its extensive digital archive of print, video, and audio materials with a range of educational tools for understanding the Troubles. Downloadable toolkits for students, exclusive academic essays on key themes, and an introduction by Senator George J. Mitchell, Chair of the Peace Process talks, are indicative of how the Linen Hall Library has not only digitized records but provided a multifaceted digital resource for the public to understand and engage with materials.

Released in January 2018, "Divided Society" provides a glimpse into how engaged neutrality works in a digital environment.[822] As a digital outgrowth of the Northern

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http://www.mdah.ms.gov/senseofplace/2015/09/09/time-and-tide-documenting-disaster/#comments

[822] For more information about the official release of "Divided Society", see: "Internationally Renowned Journalist Kate Adie OBE to Launch LHL's New 'Divided Society' Digital Resource," *Linen Hall Library*, last modified January 17, 2018, https://www.linenhall.com/news/251. Robbie Meredith, "Nineties 'Divided Society' archive opened," *BBC*, last modified January 22, 2018, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-42768231. Cate McCurry, "Kate Adie Launches Troubles Archive and Praises Northern Ireland's 'tolerance'." *Belfast Telegr*aph, last modified January 23, 2018, https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/kate-adie-launches-troubles-

Ireland Political Collection, "Divided Society" retains the Collection's focus on objectivity, inclusiveness, and accessibility. The Heritage Lottery Fund's [HLF] announcement of its funding for the project included the following statement from HLF Northern Ireland Community Member, Mark Glover: "The Northern Ireland Political Collection captures a key period in our history as viewed by a diverse range of voices. This project will help to protect this archive, securing its future and providing increased access to it for more people to learn from and enjoy."[823] Like the Library itself, "Divided Society" is a project designed to accommodate both local and global visitors. As evidenced by its pricing structure, however—free for the UK and Ireland, 300 pounds a year for individuals outside of the UK and Ireland—the Library privileges users within geographical proximity of the events recorded by the NIPC. In this respect, the project reflects the Library's commitment to its community, city, and nation while also cultivating an international reputation and scope.

Reconciliation, at both local and international levels, provides the third major point of interconnection between research sites. By reconciliation, I am referring to what is more commonly called peacemaking in Northern Ireland and racial reconciliation in the American South. Peacemaking, according to the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, entails "engaging local civil society organizations, survivors and governments in a participatory and inclusive manner."[824] Similarly, the previously mentioned Winter Institute describes reconciliation in terms of "racial equity," "wholeness" and

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archive-and-praises-northern-irelands-tolerance-36518060.html. Gerry Moriarty, "Kate Adie Launches 'Divided Society' Archive of Troubles, *The Irish Times*, last modified January 22, 2018, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/kate-adie-launches-divided-society-archive-of-troubles-1.3364592.

[823] "Digitising a 'Divided Society' at Linen Hall," accessed January 13, 2018.

[824] "International Coalition of Sites of Conscience: Truth and Justice," accessed January 26, 2018 and "The Winter Institute: Mission," accessed January 26, 2018.

"transcending all division and discrimination based on difference." Reconciliation efforts have focused chiefly on the community and national levels with an emphasis on repairing relations between historically antagonistic groups and building bridges between divided communities. Archives and other cultural heritage institutions contribute to broader community building efforts by modeling open and inclusive programs and services, as well as providing historical context on divisive issues often clouded by misinformation.

Local projects and partnerships at both MDAH and the BCRI have helped build community trust and support. At the state and municipal level, respectively, both institutions have earned reputations for being reliable and fair recorders of history. The digitization and dissemination of the previously mentioned Mississippi Sovereignty Commission records and the BCRI oral history project provide examples of how the archives successfully stewarded sensitive materials and stories. In the case of MDAH, the undertaking improved a broken relationship between the state and its African American citizens. For BCRI, it was a project to deliver on the promise of a civic institution predicated on furthering social justice through the telling of the city's civil rights history. The approaches of the Museum of Free Derry and the Linen Hall Library share a similar focus on community reconciliation. The Museum's programing bridges Derry's historically antagonistic communities and the Library curates the definitive collection on the peace process. Both undertakings serve as exemplars of how cultural heritage institutions can further peacemaking. Moreover, the relationship between the two institutions is likely to deepen when the Museum becomes linked to the Library and the Conflict Archive on the Internet [CAIN] through new computer research points.[825] At

[825] Kerr, interview with author, March 22, 2017.

which point, the institutions will begin sharing practical resources as well as guiding principles and approaches.

The archives I studied also share a global dimension to their reconciliation work. The Linen Hall Library, for instance, has become a hub for international students applying the conflict resolution and peacemaking lessons of Northern Ireland to other nations.[826] As previously mentioned, the West Bank and Basque regions have hosted NIPC exhibits in the past and scholars, students, activists and others from these and other conflict zones have themselves travelled to Northern Ireland to learn more about the conflict and peace process. While the Linen Hall Library promotes and builds the NIPC for researchers from around the globe to access, the Museum of Free Derry itself draws visitor attention to parallels between the community of Free Derry and other oppressed people around the world. A mural in support of Palestine that was featured prominently on the original Museum building and exhibit text drawing parallels between the British response to Bloody Sunday and American atrocities during the Iraq war are visible markers of the Museum's transparent, active support of certain forms of international reconciliation.[827]

While the international connections across the Atlantic have not been as clear and impactful, the archives studied in the American South have varying international presences. The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, for instance, has a relationship with South African cultural heritage institutes and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History hosts frequent international scholars. As previously mentioned BCRI's relationship with South Africa is modest but multifaceted and dynamic, encompassing exhibits on apartheid and an ongoing relationship with the Apartheid Museum in Soweto.

[826] Cash, interview with author, June 1, 2016.
[827] Kerr, interview with author, March 22, 2017.

On a spectrum of international work, MDAH is the only archive studied without a visible direct collaboration or project international in scope. While international researchers have long drawn on its unique and valuable civil rights collections, MDAH's directors and staff have focused their resources and attention on local and statewide undertakings. The December 2017 opening of the new Civil Rights Museum, however, will likely lead to a greater national and international presence, which might in turn spark global partnerships and undertakings.

VIII. C. Methodological Models

Along with furthering our understanding of the interplay between archives and transnational social justice, the dissertation provides a methodological model from which future studies might draw. As previously mentioned, archival research has traditionally tended towards single-site case studies. Comparative or multisite approaches, by comparison, allow for new perspectives on established and emerging issues within archival studies. My dissertation's comparative structure has revealed much about the differing national, historical, cultural, and institutional contexts of my research sites. By analyzing four research sites spanning two continents, the study provides a path for other exploratory archival studies to follow. Such an approach would likely provide new insights into a range of theoretical and professional issues within archives, including such topics as ethics, digital stewardship, advocacy, appraisal and many others. In fact, it is

difficult to imagine a deep understanding of any of these topics without case studies exploring multiple examples from different social and political contexts.

Multisite case studies of archives and other cultural heritage institutions are particularly relevant in today's increasingly interconnected world. As Anne Gilliland argues in her book, *Conceptualizing 21st Century Archives*, archival studies is shifting to a "glocal" focus, wherein scholars and practitioners develop sound practices for exchanging data "effectively and equitably across national, cultural, linguistic, and ideological boundaries."[828] Gilliland calls on archivists "to move beyond single fixed perspectives" and "think more strategically and systematically about why, when, and how they should share professional or intellectual territory with other communities through collaboration."[829] Due to this changing societal and technological landscape, local and transnational collaborations have become a vital component of archival work. In order to adapt, archival studies will need to be increasingly international in scope and open to adopting something akin to the transnational comparative framework of my study.

The "glocal" shift in archival studies informed both my overall approach to coding and the coding vocabulary I used on transcriptions. While coding interviews, I looked for geographical partnerships, collaborations, and other interconnections. More specifically, I looked to see if these intersections were happening at the local, national, and/or international levels. The codes I used were sometimes general—"local collaborations" and "international collaborations"—and other times targeted and specific, "collaborations-Northern Ireland" and "international connections/ South Africa." By using broad and narrow codes, I was able to analyze both how archives approached local and global

[828] Anne Gilliland, *Conceptualizing 21st Century Archives* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2014), 5.
[829] Gilliland, *Conceptualizing 21st Century Archives*, 257.

collaborations and what those undertakings looked like in practice. My codes tended towards the use of general terms (e.g. "local," "national," or "international collaboration") with a follow-up memo providing more detail. For instance, the transcription of my interview with the Museum of Free Derry's Adrian Kerr included the code, "cross-community collaboration," followed by a memo clarifying that "school groups and community groups learn Derry's history only visiting both museums, as opposed to just going to one central museum that tells both sides." I found this an effective way to analyze, organize, and draw on my interview data.

Furthermore, the dissertation shows archival scholars the value of an ethnographic approach to data collection. As I mentioned in the methodology section, my study draws on such ethnographic methods as field observation and artifact collection for data collection. During my field work, I took meticulous notes of my observations in archival reading rooms and other relevant spaces in order to gain some understanding of the operations, management, and interpersonal exchanges between staff, patrons, and others. Along with adopting methods more typically associated with ethnography, I also worked under an overarching ethnographic philosophy of what educator Leah Shagrir describes as an examination of the "human, interpersonal, social and cultural aspects in all their complexity."[830] I viewed each archive as a multifaceted site—unique yet interconnected with other local and global cultural heritage institutions.

A major limitation of the study, however, is the limited time I spent visiting each research site. Due to geographical distances, a modest budget, and time constraints, each research trip lasted two to three days. Visits were long enough for data collection but not for the kind of immersion necessary for a proper ethnographic study. Though the

[830] Leah Shagrir, *Journey to Ethnographic Research* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2017), 9.

timeframe was appropriate for my exploratory study, it would have been helpful to spend at least two to three weeks at each site to better understand such complexities as institutional culture, work relationships and processes, and patron interactions and services among other things. Any study that emulates this research in the future should consider allocating more time for each research visit even if that necessitates a paring down of the study to two or three sites. Though such studies might lack the transnational scope of my project, they would yield richer, more in-depth data. Such research would compliment exploratory work like my own by providing a more in-depth analysis of the archive's approach to social issues, collaborations with other institutions, and potentially its impact on social justice issues.

VIII. D. Future Directions in Research

As an exploratory study, my dissertation has opened multiple avenues of further research. It provides, for instance, a foundation from which additional studies might expand geographically by comparing other countries with civil rights collections. Furthermore, future research might refine my results by studying more sites in Northern Ireland and the American South. Also, as the political scientist Benedict Anderson points out, comparison can be longitudinal with studies examining the same country over a period of time.[831] While some future research could stem from the archival literature, other projects might examine how archival social justice intersects with other social and cultural issues. The interplay of early electronic records and the release of the Sovereignty Commission files at

[831] Benedict Anderson, "Frameworks of Comparison," *London Review of Books* 38, no.2 (January 21, 2016): 16.

the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, for instance, points to other potential ways of focusing the research on socio-technological issues. Given that my dissertation research was both multisite and international, there are many ways that researchers might shift the sites and data collection to build on this study.

Expanding the study to include alternative countries and/or civil rights archives would enrich our understanding of archival social justice interventions. Even reconfiguring or adding a few more sites could help to complicate or clarify my conclusions regarding archival approaches to civil rights materials. Comparing additional countries would illuminate whether my results are unique to archives in Northern Ireland and the American South or whether my conclusions are more universal and apply to multiple contexts. It would be particularly illuminating if additional sites included alternative types of repositories and institutions. The previously mentioned Conflict Archive on the Internet [CAIN], for instance, would provide a fascinating look at how a digital, hub-like repository approaches and potentially employs its civil rights materials. Furthermore, a study including the Southern Poverty Law Center [SPLC], as a legal advocacy institution devoted to combatting hate groups and racism, would shift the research in rich and productive directions. The controversy surrounding the SPLC and its work would raise the political stakes of the research, as well as add complexity to how archivists and scholars interpret social justice.

Future studies might also focus on some of the secondary issues that arose during my research. As previously mentioned, the Mississippi Department of Archives presents an opportunity to investigate how the history and evolution of technology impacts social justice. The timely advent of electronic records created new opportunities for the access

and digital preservation of the contentious Sovereignty Commission records, which has had ongoing technological, ethical, and legal implications. The Linen Hall Library provides another example of how unexpected themes and topics arose during my research. Issues related to gender and the archival profession were raised both by research into the Library's female staff during the Troubles and its present-day all female administration. Potential research questions might explore what part women have played in archival social justice interventions. It might also ask how gender inequality has affected or otherwise shaped that role in the past and the present.

Finally, future research might shift the focus from archival social justice interventions to social justice impact. Researchers could draw on the social justice framework developed by Wendy Duff and her co-authors in the previously mentioned article, "Social Justice Impact of Archives: A Preliminary Investigation."[832] The research would provide a useful complement to the dissertation since impact—as opposed to intent and practice—fell outside of its scope. A study of archival impact would entail interviewing users, staff, and external partners for information on the success of joint projects. Researchers would analyze the archive's own statistical data if available, as well as examine how its materials have been used within secondary sources, popular culture, social initiatives, or any other potential conduit of social justice. The research would be difficult and time-consuming but immensely valuable to our understanding of the relationship between archives and social justice.

[832] Duff, et al., "Social Justice Impact of Archives: A Preliminary Investigation," *Archival Science* 13 (2013): 317-348.

APPENDIX A: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

University of Pittsburgh
Institutional Review Board

3500 Fifth Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
(412) 383-1480
(412) 383-1508 (fax)
http://www.irb.pitt.edu

Memorandum

To: James King

From: IRB Office

Date: 10/28/2015

IRB#: PRO15070527

Subject: ARCHIVING CIVIL RIGHTS:
ARCHIVAL APPROACHES TO CIVIL RIGHTS MATERIALS
IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE AMERICAN SOUTH

The above-referenced project has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board. Based on the information provided, this project meets all the necessary criteria for an exemption, and is hereby designated as "exempt" under section

45 CFR 46.101(b)(2)

Please note the following information:

- Investigators should consult with the IRB whenever questions arise about whether planned changes to an exempt study might alter the exempt status. Use the "**Send Comments to IRB Staff**" link displayed on study workspace to request a review to ensure it continues to meet the exempt category.
- It is important to close your study when finished by using the "**Study Completed**" link displayed on the study workspace.
- Exempt studies will be archived after 3 years unless you choose to extend the study. If your study is archived, you can continue conducting research activities as the IRB has made the determination that your project met one of the required exempt categories. The only caveat is that no changes can be made to the application. If a change is needed, you will need to submit a NEW Exempt application.

Please be advised that your research study may be audited periodically by the University of Pittsburgh Research Conduct and Compliance Office.

APPENDIX B: CONSENT TO IDENTIFY PARTICIPANT FORM

CONSENT TO IDENTIFY PARTICIPANT

TITLE: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES: ARCHIVAL APPROACHES TO CIVIL RIGHTS MATERIALS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE AMERICAN SOUTH

PRINCIPLE INVESTIGATOR: JAMES KING

I understand what is involved in this research study, and I grant permission for my name to be used in any publications resulting from this research. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the interview at any time or to not respond to certain questions. I agree to allow the interviewer to digitally record and transcribe our interview for the purpose of dissertation research. All audio recordings will be used for the sole purpose of data collection and will not be accessed by any external parties. I will provide you with a copy of both your digital audio file and completed transcription upon your request.

_____

Signature of Participant

Printed Name of Participant

Date

APPENDIX C: SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (MUSEUM OF FREE DERRY

Proposed Interview Questions

Personal and Institutional Background

What is your professional background and how did you become affiliated with the museum?

Tell me about the work you do.

Tell me about the work of this institution.

What is the organizational structure of the museum? And what part does the Bloody Sunday Trust play?

Tell me about the museum's community and the types of visitors you receive.

Tell me about the new facility?

Tell me about any controversies, issues, or problems regarding the Museum's work?

Civil Rights

How does this institution address differing historical viewpoints on civil rights and the Troubles?

How do you address, if you do, contemporary civil or human rights issues in a professional capacity?

What part does the civil rights story play within the museum?

Social Justice

What is your institution's mission?

How do you interpret the institution's mandate within the community?

How does this institutional mandate and mission compare to similar institutions with which you are familiar?

How has the museum facilitated social justice? (e.g. improved community or national relations, educated children, etc.)

Were any of its records used by the Saville Inquiry?

Local and Transnational Collaborations

How has this institution collaborated with or drawn lessons from archives or cultural institutions locally? (Siege Museum and NI Schools Outreach Program) Internationally?

In what ways have these links been maintained or expanded?

Tell me about the long term digitization project to make the archive fully accessible?

General

How does the museum also function as a community and/or civil rights archive?

What are some of this institution's greatest achievements?

To what degree would you encourage other community archives and museums to emulate this institution's example?

Is there anything you'd like to add or return to that we've discussed?

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